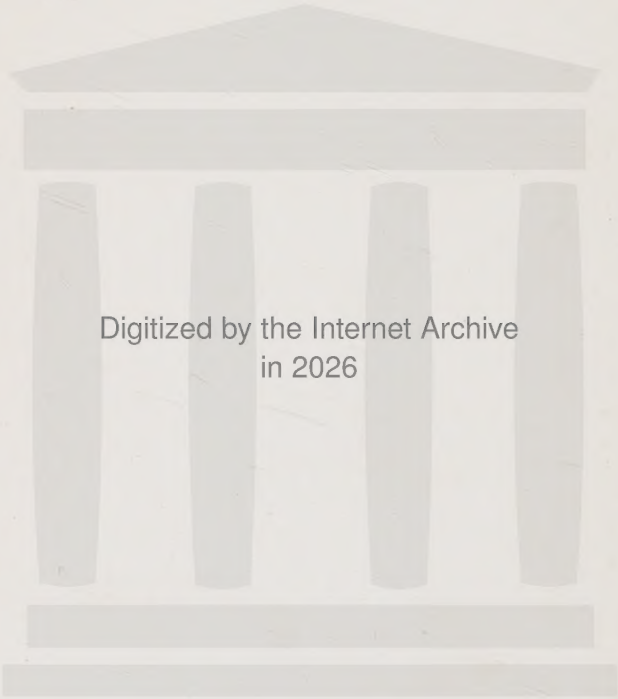
EUCHARIST and PENANCE

Rauschen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Eucharist and Penance

In the First Six Centuries of the Church

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BY

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The present volume first appeared at Easter, 1908, and since that time has been translated into Italian by G. Bonaccorsi (*L'Eucarestia e la Penitenza,* Firenze, 1909), and into French by M. Decker and E. Ricard (*L'Eucharistie et la Pénitence,* Paris, 1910, Lecoffre). The impression that its publication created is best evidenced by the many, and in part very searching and scholarly criticisms which it received. Among these may be mentioned: Strohsacker in the *Revue Bénédictine,* 1908, p. 534–536, Struckmann in the *Theol. Revue,* 1908, p. 414–419, Stufler in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie,* 1908, p. 536–544, Höller in the *Theol.-praktische Quartalschrift* of Linz, 1909, p. 618–624, and Vacandard in the *Revue du Clergé Français,* 1909, p. 385–416. With the help afforded by these and other criticisms, the author undertook a thorough revision of his work. The present edition contains some fifty pages more than the first. Three paragraphs have been entirely recast. In §3, the latest researches of liberal Protestants on the institution of the Eucharist are now given at length, and their validity examined; in §4, the author assumes another and stronger position in regard to the Wieland-Dorsch controversy on the essence of the sacrifice of the Mass; in §8 (§7 of the first edition) the forgiveness of capital sins in Christian antiquity is reconsidered in the light of the objections raised by Stufler, especially the testimony of Hermas, Irenæus, Origen, and Cyprian on this subject. Whether Stufler will now regard my attitude

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more favorably is rather doubtful. For him the question has been dogmatically settled and hence he is inaccessible to argument even in subordinate details. An entirely new paragraph has been incorporated in this edition, which we think will be welcomed by many, namely, on *the Frequency of, and the Dispositions Required for, Communion in the Early Church.*

"*Nihil veritas erubescit nisi solummodo abscondi,*" wrote Tertullian on one occasion (*C. Valent.*, 3), and no less an authority than Leo XIII has said that this utterance is as true to-day as it was when it was made. The author of the present volume had no other aim than to serve the truth, and thereby glorify God and His Church.

THE AUTHOR.

Bonn, March, 1910.

CONTENTS

PART I. THE HOLY EUCHARIST

PAGE

§ 1.— The Real Presence 1

The Question Stated, 1 — Doctrine of the Didache, 2 — of Ignatius, 3 — of Justin, 5 — of Irenaeus, 6 — of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, 7 — of Tertullian, 11 — of Cyprian, 15 — of Chrysostom, 18 — of Augustine, 19.

§ 2.— Transubstantiation 25

Teaching of the Church, 25 — Indecision in regard to this doctrine before 1200 exaggerated by Batiffol, 26 — Teaching of Justin, 30 — of Irenaeus, 32 — of Tertullian, 33 — of Cyril of Jerusalem, 34 — of Chrysostom, 35 — of Gregory of Nyssa, 35 — of Ambrose, 38 — of Cyril of Alexandria, 39 — of Theodore of Mopsuestia, 40 — of John Damascene, 40 — The precision of the doctrine in the Greek and Latin Churches, 42.

§ 3.— The Institution of the Eucharist 44

A general survey of the new theories of present-day liberal Protestantism in regard to the Last Supper, 44 — Biblical accounts of the institution, 45 — Spitta and Schweitzer, 49 — Andersen, 50 — Johann Hoffmann, 53 — Holtzmann, 56 — K. G. Goetz, 57 — Criticism, 59.

§ 4.— The Nature of the Sacrifice of the Mass . . 62

Renz's book on this subject, 62 — His concept of the mass the concept of Christian antiquity, 64 — Recent theories in regard to the mass, 65 — Renz's idea that the essence of the mass lies in communion untrue, 67 — His appeal to Justin, Irenaeus, Cyprian and Gregory the Great, unwarranted, 67 — Scripture affords us evidence of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, 71 — Cyprian introduced no new theory of sacrifice into the church, 73 — Wieland-Dorsch controversy, 75 — Wieland's error in claiming that the celebration of the Eucharist in the primitive church bore the character of a common meal, 77 — Sacrifice proper something more than gift-offering, 81 — Examination of Wieland's main contentions, 83 — According to the N. T., 83 — The Didache, 86 — Clement of Rome, 86 — Ignatius, 87 — Apologists of the second century, 87 — Clement of Alexandria, 91 — Tertullian and Irenaeus, 92 — Conclusions, 94.

CONTENTS

PAGE

§ 5.— The Canon of the Mass 98

The Eucharistic prayer of the Didache, 98 — Justin's testimony in regard to the prayer of consecration, 101 — The recently discovered canon of Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, 102 — Derivation of the canon from the ritual of the Jewish Pasch, 106 — Derivation from the Jewish religious meal service, 107 — Origin of the Roman canon according to Drews, 110 — According to Baumstark, 111 — Funk's appreciation, 112 — Criticism, 113.

§ 6.— The Epiclesis 115

The universality and antiquity of the Epiclesis, 116 — The Epiclesis first a mooted question in the 15th century, 117 — Explanation of the Epiclesis, 120 — The teaching of tradition on the moment of consecration, 123 — Conclusion, 128 — List of Patristic passages on the subject, 130.

§ 7.— Frequent Communion in the Early Church and the Preparation Demanded for It 134

Sunday the regular day for the Eucharistic service, 135 — Daily Eucharistic sacrifice in Africa in the 3rd century, 136 — Likewise daily in the Western Church, less often in the Oriental Church, 137 — First utterance of complaints about the negligence of the faithful in receiving communion, 140 — Monastic rule of weekly communion, 142 — Communion in the homes of Christians, 144 — *Eulogia*, 145 — Communion to infants, 146 — Disposition of the soul for Communion, 147 — of the body, 149.

PART II. THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE

§ 8.— Ecclesiastical Absolution from Capital Sins in the First Three Centuries 152

Data in the controversy, 152 — The Shepherd of Hermas on the penitential discipline, 155 — Dionysius of Corinth, 159 — Irenaeus, 160 — The *De paenitentia* and *De pudicitia* of Tertullian, 161 — The controversy and Cyprian, 165 — Conclusion in regard to the ecclesiastical discipline in the Latin Church, 173 — The attitude of the Oriental Church, 180.

§ 9.— Public Confession 184

Definitions, 184 — Public confession required for capital sins committed publicly, 187 — The three capital sins to be regarded generically, 191 — Broader conception of the sins mortal, 192 — The seven capital sins, 193.

CONTENTS

PAGE

§ 10.— Public Penance 194

Direction of the public penance, 194 — Was it required for secret sins? 196 — Forms of public penance, 199 — Classes of penitents, 201 — "Peace-letters" of the martyrs, 203 — No repetition of public penance, 207 — Submission to this discipline at the hour of death, 207 — Relaxation of the early discipline from the fifth century onward, 209 — Disappearance of the system in the East, 210 — in the West, 212.

§ 11.— Auricular Confession 213

Obscurity of the question, 214 — Criticism of recent literature on the subject, 216 — No sacramental absolution given before penance was performed, 219 — Private confession in close connection with public penance, 223 — Increasing importance and spread of private confession in the fourth and fifth centuries, 225 — Confession of capital sins demanded, 226 — Objections from Origen, 230 — from Tertullian, 230 — from Augustine, 231 — from Chrysostom, 231 — Difference between the present practice of penance and confession and that of early Christian times, 234 — The practice of confession in the ancient monasteries, 238 — Universal spread of periodic confession in the early Middle Ages, 240 — The deprecatory formula of absolution, 242 — Sacramental character of absolution, 243 — The power of binding and loosing exclusively exercised by the monks in the Greek Church, 246 — The seal of confession, 249.

§ 12.— Retrospect 250

Index 253

EUCHARIST AND PENANCE
IN THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES

PART I

THE HOLY EUCHARIST

§ 1. The Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist

Bibliography: —
CATHOLIC.— SCHANZ, *Die Lehre des hl. Augustinus über die Eucharistie,* in *Theol. Quartalschr.* for 1896, p. 79–115. NAEGLE, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus,* Freiburg, 1900. SCHEIWILER, *Die Elemente der Eucharistie in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten,* Mainz, 1903. STRUCKMANN, *Die Gegenwart Christi in der heiligen Eucharistie nach den schriftlichen Quellen der vornicänischen Zeit,* Vienna, 1905. BLANK, *Die Lehre des hl. Augustinus vom Sakramente der Eucharistie,* Paderborn, 1906. K. ADAM, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Augustin* (Forsch. VIII, 1), Paderborn, 1908. BATIFFOL, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive,* II: *L'Eucharistie, la présence réelle et la transsubstantiation,* 3rd ed., Paris, 1906.
PROTESTANT.— STEITZ, *Die Abendmahlslehre der griechischen Kirche in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung,* in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie,* IX–XIII, 1864–1868. HARNACK, *History of Dogma.* The English translation of Harnack's work is from the 3rd German edition. All the quotations taken from the 4th edition are to be read in the German text only [Tr. N.] LOOFS, art. *Abendmahl* II in Hauck's *Realenzykl. f. prot. Theol. und Kirche,* Vol. I, 3rd ed., 38 ff.

1. During the past twenty years the Holy Eucharist has been the subject of much study and discussion, and to-day the controversy centers around the same point that occupied theologians in the days of the Reformation. They are still divided between *realism* and *symbolism.* We may say, however, *that present-day Protestants generally grant, with more readiness than the Protestant theologians of the sixteenth century,* that realism, that is the doctrine of the real pres-

ence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, prevails in the writings of the first three centuries. BATIFFOL goes too far when he says that the history of dogma, which in regard to other questions occasioned so many difficulties, brought us a real gain in this matter, inasmuch as the old-time Protestants, who were enthusiastic adherents of the symbolism of STEITZ, have been thoroughly dispossessed (*éconduits*) by the critical study of the Fathers. The learned French savant is, however, mistaken if he believes that present-day Protestants regard Origen as practically the only symbolist of the early Church. They have not yet advanced quite as far as that. Let us examine the witnesses of tradition one by one.

2. *Appeal can scarcely be made to the "Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles" to prove the Real Presence,* for according to this work the sacrament consists merely in the breaking of bread and in thanksgiving. In the 14th chapter we read: "On the Lord's day do ye gather together, break bread, and give thanks after having confessed your transgressions." The prayers recorded in chapters 9 and 10 speak of the Eucharist as "spiritual food and drink," and declare it to be productive of eternal life; only the baptized can partake of it. But that it is the body and the blood of Christ and a memorial of His passion is nowhere affirmed. It is true, the formula for the consecration of the chalice: "We give Thee thanks, our Father, *for the holy vine of David,* thy servant" (9, 2), might be understood as referring to the blood of Christ, since CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA speaks of Christ as "Him who pours the wine, the blood of the vine of David, upon our wounded souls," [1] and because Christ is called by Origen [2] "the true vine springing from the root of David." The text of the Didache remains obscure and

[1] *Quis dives salv.*, c. 29. [2] *Hom. in Jud.*, 6, 2.

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is made still more so by what follows: ". . . which [vine] Thou hast made known to us, through Jesus, Thy Son." HEHN, therefore, goes too far when he declares that "the Didache undoubtedly presupposes belief in the Real Presence."[3] Perhaps STRUCKMANN also affirms too much when he tells us that "the Didache saw in the Eucharist something more than a symbol" (p. 15). We are satisfied with saying, *Non liquet.*[4]

3. On the other hand, *St. Ignatius is an excellent witness* for the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. It cannot be denied indeed that he often speaks of the flesh and blood of Christ in a figurative sense. Thus, for example, he says in his letter to the *Romans* (7, 3): "I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, who was of the seed of David, and I desire to drink His blood, which is incorruptible love." FUNK explains these words as follows: "The context makes it clear that Ignatius is speaking of union with Christ, or of the enjoyment of God in heaven, using images borrowed from the Eucharist."[5] Ignatius also employs figurative language in *Trall.* 8, 1: "Be ye renewed in faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, which is the blood of Jesus Christ." *But there is one passage which cannot be interpreted figuratively,* namely, *Smyrn.* 7, 1: "They [the Docetæ] abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer, because they confess not the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which [flesh] suffered for our sins, and which the Father raised up by His goodness."[6]

[3] *Die Einsetzung des heiligen Abendmahls* (1900), p. 172.

[4] For more details in regard to the prayers in chapters 9 and 10 of the Didache, see below, 99–101.

[5] *Patres Apostolici,* I, 1261.

[6] Ignatius adds: Συνέφερεν δὲ αὐτοῖς, ἀγαπᾶν, ἵνα καὶ ἀναστῶσιν. Ἀγαπᾶν here has the same meaning as ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, which he uses in other places. At this period it was customary to celebrate the Eucharist in connection with the love-feast, or, to render

In regard to this text, two remarks must be made. The author says, first of all, that the Gnostics abstained from the Eucharist. Now if they had considered the Eucharist merely as a memorial of Christ's passion, why should they have declined to take part in it? Evidently, they understood it to be the flesh of the Lord, which, as Docetæ, they had to reject. Then St. Ignatius goes on to say that, according to the belief of the Church, the Eucharist is the flesh of Christ which suffered for our sins and was raised up by the Father. He could hardly have employed more definite language than this. Yet ANDERSEN interprets the passage differently. The Gnostics, he says, "abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer; but the Eucharist signifies the meeting of the faithful, as is evident from the words, 'and from prayer.' The meaning, therefore, is: They hold themselves aloof from thanksgiving and prayer, because they do not consider the assembly of the faithful, presided over by the bishop, to be the 'flesh of Jesus Christ.'"[7] I am surprised that BATIFFOL (p. 124), adopts this absolutely indefensible interpretation. Had it been the intention of Ignatius to declare that the assembly of Christians was the body of Christ, he might have employed the expression, "the flesh of Christ" in place of "the body of Christ." But in this case, he would never have appended the words: "which [flesh] suffered for our sins, and which the Father raised up by His goodness." STRUCKMANN (p. 35) has understood this correctly.

HARNACK[8] grants that Ignatius in *Smyrn.* 7, 1 appears to express himself *in a strictly realistic sense,* but declares: "Many passages, however, show that

the meaning of St. Ignatius' text even more accurately, Eucharist and love-feast were identical.

[7] *Das Abendmahl in den zwei ersten Jahrh.*, p. 212 f.

[8] Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch. I, 4th ed. 233.

Ignatius *was far from having such a conception,* and rather thought as John did." The passages he has in mind are the two already mentioned (*Rom.* 7, 3 and *Trall.* 8, 1), and *Philad.* 5, 1: προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ. LOOFS also says: "Ignatius' conception of the Last Supper is not purely symbolical, yet it would be hasty to conclude that he meant to teach the real presence of the transfigured body and blood of Christ." Beyond this nothing can be argued with certainty (p. 40). VON DER GOLTZ[9] and STAHL[10] follow STEITZ in interpreting all the passages of Ignatius which bear upon the Eucharist in a spiritual sense. Neither of these two writers, however, examines the question very closely. On the other hand, JOHANN HOFFMANN is candid enough to admit that *Smyrn.* 7, 1 must be taken literally. "The case is identical," he writes,[11] "when he [Ignatius], in bold and striking language, describes the σάρξ of Christ as that flesh which suffered for our sins and which was raised up by God. The fair-minded reader must take these statements literally, because the expressions chosen are more realistic than would otherwise have been necessary. Had Ignatius intended them to be taken figuratively, he would never have employed a mode of speech from which the very opposite meaning can be drawn."

4. ST. JUSTIN, in a well known passage of his writings is *an incontestable witness* in favor of the Real Presence. The passage (*Apol.* I, 66) reads: "Not as common bread and common drink do we receive this; but like as Jesus Christ, our Saviour, having been made flesh by the word of God (διὰ λόγον θεοῦ), assumed both flesh and blood for our salvation, so have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word (τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ

[9] *Ignatius von Antioch als Christ und Theologe* (1894), 71–74.
[10] *Patristische Untersuchungen* (1901), 121 ff.
[11] *Das Abendmahl im Urchristentum,* Berlin, 1903, p. 164 f.

εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν) and from which our flesh and blood by transmutation (κατὰ μεταβολήν), are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh." Even HARNACK is forced to confess (*loc. cit.*): "It cannot be denied that Justin presupposes the identity, miraculously produced by the Logos, of the consecrated bread and the body he has assumed." SEMISCH, whose exposition of the doctrine of St. Justin remains to this day the most thorough and adequate, writes:[12] "The Reformed Church has no reason for appealing to the words of Justin in support of its interpretation of the Last Supper. . . . The parallel which Justin draws between the Incarnation of Jesus and the Eucharistic act, makes it absolutely necessary to take the bread and wine of the Eucharistic celebration *in a real sense for the body and blood of Christ*, even as the flesh of the incarnate Saviour was real." LOOFS also declares (p. 41): "Here it is clear that Justin regards the εὐχαριστηθεῖσα τροφή as body and blood of Christ, as a doctrine to be held by all Christians."

5. *A no less important witness is Irenæus.* In his chief work against the Gnostics he argues against these heretics precisely from the teaching of the Church in regard to the Eucharist (*Adv. Hær.*, IV, 18, 4–5). "How can they believe," he writes, "that this bread, over which thanks have been given, is the body of their Lord, and that the cup contains His blood, if they do not acknowledge Him as the Son of the Creator of the world?" This clearly means: the Gnostics deny that Christ is the Son of the Creator; but if He is not the Son of the Creator, then He cannot transform the bread into His own body, since it is not His. "Then, again," Irenæus continues, "how can they assert that

[12] *Justin der Märtyrer, eine kirchen- und dogmengeschichtliche Monographie*, Breslau, 1840, II, 438.

our flesh, which is nourished with the body of the Lord and with His blood, becomes corrupted, and does not partake of life?" The Gnostics denied the resurrection of the body, and by this denial, as Irenæus remarks, placed themselves in contradiction to the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Eucharist, which they themselves admitted.

In another passage (*Adv. Haer.*, V, 2, 2–3), Irenæus says that *Christ declared the chalice to be His own blood* (αἷμα ἴδιον) *and the bread, His own body* (ἴδιον σῶμα), and that our flesh is nourished by the body and blood of the Lord and is a member of Him (*τὴν σάρκα . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου τρεφομένην καὶ μέλος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσαν*). How could he have expressed himself more precisely and explicitly? No wonder Loofs declares (p. 48), that Irenæus held the same belief as Justin in regard to the Eucharist, but expressed this belief, which was generally received in the Christian communities, in terms having a decidedly physical tinge. Yet Steitz (IX, 465 ff.) believed that the Reformation doctrine on the Eucharist can be found in the writings of Irenæus (!).

Thus *the three most renowned writers of the second century,* namely, Ignatius, Justin, and Irenæus, *clearly affirm the Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament.*

6. *The two Alexandrian writers,* Clement and Origen, must be studied together, for their conception of the Eucharist is substantially identical, though Origen expresses himself far more definitely than Clement. Both writers positively insist on *the universal belief of the Church that the Lord offers us His body to eat and His blood to drink,* and that this nourishment ensures immortality. Clement writes:[13] "The mixture of drink and the Logos is called

[13] *Paed.*, II, 2 (Migne, *P.G.*, VIII, 411a).

Eucharist, a praiseworthy and glorious gift of grace. And those who believingly partake of it, are sanctified both in body and soul, since the will of the Father unites in a mystical manner this divine mixture, man consisting of soul and body, with the Holy Ghost and the Logos. For as the Holy Spirit truly indwells in the soul which is inspired by Him, so also the flesh, for whose sake the Word became flesh, indwells in the Word." In another passage Clement alludes to the conclusion of the parable of the Good Samaritan and remarks: "He [Christ] it is who pours into our wounded souls wine, the blood of David's vine." Origen writes:[14] "But we give thanks to the Creator of the universe, and we eat the loaves presented amid thanksgiving and prayer after they have become a certain body, which is sacred through prayer and sanctifies those who partake of it with a good conscience."[15] And again: "It must be remarked, first of all, that He [Jesus], before He gave the blessed loaves to the Apostles, that they might distribute them to the multitude, healed the sick, so that they might partake of the consecrated loaves in perfect health. For those who are still sick cannot receive the bread blessed by Jesus. They should take to heart the words: Let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of that bread, etc. (1 *Cor.* 11, 28.) Should any one disregard these words and presumptuously taste the bread of the Lord and His chalice, he becomes weak, or sick, or even dies, stupefied, as it were, by the power of the bread."[16] And again: "You who are wont to assist at the Divine Mysteries, know how, when you receive the body of the Lord, you take reverent care, lest

[14] *Quis dives salv.*, ch. 29.

[15] *Contra Cels.*, VIII, 33: *καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἅγιόν τι καὶ ἁγιάζον τοὺς ὑγιοῦς προθέσεως χρωμένους.*

[16] *Hom. in Matt.*, X, 25.

any particle of it should fall to the ground and a portion of the consecrated gift escape you. You consider it a crime — and rightly so — if any particle thereof fall down through negligence." [17]

There are other passages in the writings of Clement, and especially in those of Origen, in which "the body and blood" of the Lord in the Eucharist are interpreted *allegorically as the teaching of Christ by which our souls are nourished.* Such a meaning we find especially in *Strom.* V, 10: "By *milk* is no doubt understood catechetical instruction, which forms the first food, as it were, of the soul; whereas *meat* is mystic contemplation; *this is the flesh and the blood of the Word,* namely, understanding of the divine power and essence. . . . For so He imparts Himself to those who partake of this food in a spiritual manner; as the soul nourishes itself, according to the truth-loving Plato. For the meat and drink of the divine Word is the knowledge of His divine essence." Origen expresses himself in still clearer terms: "That bread which God the Word (*Deus verbum*) owns to be His body, is the Word which nourishes the soul, the Word which proceeds from God the Word (*verbum de deo verbo procedens*), and that bread from heavenly bread which is placed upon the table, of which it is written: Thou hast prepared a table before me, against them that afflict me. (*Ps. 22,* 5). And that drink which God the Word owns to be His blood, is the word which saturates and inebriates the hearts of those that drink it, the drink in that cup, of which it is said: How goodly is thy inebriating chalice (*ib.*). . . . *Not that visible bread which He held in His hands, did the Divine Logos call His body,* but the word, in the mystery of which the bread was to be broken. Not that visible drink did He call His blood, but the word, in the

[17] *Hom. in Exod.,* 13, 3.

mystery of which this drink was to be poured out. For the body of the Divine Logos or His blood, what else can they be than the word which nourishes and the word which gladdens the hearts?" [18]

Such declarations as the foregoing occur frequently in the writings of Origen.[19] He also expressly states that the blood of Christ can be drunk in a twofold manner, namely, "sacramentally" (*sacramentorum ritu*), and "when we receive His life-giving words." [20] He describes the literal interpretation of Holy Communion as the one commonly held in the Church (κοινοτέρα), and says it is the conception of *simple souls*.[21] He calls the symbolical interpretation more worthy of God, and says it is held by *the learned*.[22] Both interpretations, he grants, are permissible, though a higher place is to be assigned to the symbolical.[23] Thus it is that on one occasion he calls the Eucharist "the typical and symbolical body" and marks it as the opinion of the simple that the Eucharist as such sanctifies. His own interpretation he sets forth in this wise: "So we are not deprived of any good by failing to eat of the bread consecrated by the word of God and prayer, any more than we gain any good by the mere eating of this bread. For the real

[18] *Serm. in Matt.*, 85.

[19] Struckmann gives a most serviceable list of them in his work *Die Gegenwart Christi*, etc., pp. 158–194.

[20] *Hom. in Num.*, 16, 9.

[21] ἀκεραιότεροι: *In Matth.*, 11, 14; ἁπλούστεροι: *In Ioann.*, 32, 24, *al.* 16.

[22] θειοτέρα: *In Ioann.*, *l. c.*; *prudentiores*: *Serm. in Matth.*, 86.

[23] That this is Origen's meaning cannot be doubted. Probst (*Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1864, p. 464) and Struckmann (p. 187 and 194) are of the same opinion. Compare especially *Serm. in Matt.*, 86: "*Et quod dicit: Accipiens Iesus panem, similiter et calicem, qui parvulus quidem est in Christo et in Christo adhuc carnalis, intellegit communiter; prudentior autem quaerat, a quo accipiens Jesus. Deo enim dante accipit et dat eis, qui digni sunt a Deo accipere panem et calicem.*" And *Hom. in Ioa.*, 32, 24, *al.* 16: Νοείσθω δὲ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῖς μὲν ἁπλουστέροις κατὰ τὴν κοινοτέραν περὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἐκδοχήν· τοῖς δὲ βαθύτερον ἀκούειν μεμαθηκόσι κατὰ τὴν θειοτέραν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τροφίμου τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου ἐπαγγελίαν.

cause of the loss is malice and sin, and the cause of the gain is justice and good works." [24]

Origen pressed this allegorical interpretation to the extreme of spiritualizing the body and blood of the Lord in the Eucharist. He believed that the creation of matter was a consequence of the fall of the angels. He denied the material identity of the glorified body with our present body, and so interpreted the appearance of Jesus after His resurrection that he could say, "Who once was man, but is now no longer man." [25] This is why he could not form a true conception of the body and blood of our glorified Saviour. This also accounts for his wavering attitude. "As an orthodox traditionalist and decided enemy of all heresy" (Harnack), he spoke generally in the words and according to the belief of the universal Church. But to the initiate he spoke as an idealist, referring everything to the mind and its knowledge. Yet he was perfectly conscious, all the while, that his teaching in regard to the Eucharist was as widely divergent from the belief of *the simple faithful,* as was his doctrine on other points.

7. The careful researches of LEIMBACH [26] on the style of TERTULLIAN lead to the conclusion that Tertullian taught the Real Presence. LOOFS (p. 59) disputes this, but adds that "he speaks with misgiving." He starts from a preconceived notion of the teaching of St. Cyprian and argues from it back to Tertullian; but this conception, as we shall show (no. 8), is false. HARNACK, too, is opposed to LOOFS. "Were Tertullian a pure symbolist," he says, "this fact would be out of tune with his realistic theology, which even represents the water of baptism as really

[24] *In Matt.*, 11, 14.
[25] *Hom. in Jer.*, 15, 6; *Hom. in Luc.*, 29.
[26] *Beiträge zur Abendmahlslehre Tertullians*, Gotha, 1874.

connected with the Holy Ghost."[27] Tertullian even ventures to say (*De Resurrect. Carnis,* 8): "The flesh [of man] feeds on (*vescitur*) the body and blood of Christ." Some other expressions of the African scholar are not so clear as this.[28] In *Adv. Marc.,* IV, 40, he treats of the subject at some length, but this passage is unfortunately one of the most obscure.[29] "The bread," he writes, "which He [Christ] had taken and which He gave to His disciples, He made to be His own body, by saying, 'This is my body,' that is, the figure of my body (*figura corporis mei*). A figure, however, it would not have been, unless He had first had a veritable body. An empty thing, or phantom, is incapable of being figured. Or did He make for Himself a body of bread because He had no real body? In that case He must have given bread for us on the cross. But why does He call His body bread, and not rather a melon? Marcion does not understand that this symbol of the body of Christ is taken from the Old Testament, where Christ speaks by the prophet Jeremias: 'They devised against me, saying, *Let us cast the tree on his bread,*' which means, 'the cross upon His body.' And thus casting light upon the ancient prophecies, He declared plainly enough what He meant when He called the bread His body."[30]

[8] Lehrb: d. Dogmengesch. I, 4th ed. 477.

[28] To this class belong: (a) *De Orat.,* 6, where he explains how in the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer the "bread" is best interpreted as Christ, since He is the life and therefore the bread of life, "*tunc quod et corpus ejus in pane censetur: hoc est corpus meum.*" Leimbach, in the light of the analogy of other passages, translates the expression, "*in pane censetur*" by "*comes under the idea of bread*"; Döllinger's translation "*is in the bread*" is not so happy.— (b) *De Anima,* 17: "*Quod* [*vinum*] *in sanguinis sui memoriam consecravit.*" This text naturally recalls the words of the Lord: "Do this for a commemoration of me."— (c) *Adv. Marc.,* I, 14: "*Panem quo ipsum corpus suum repraesentat.*" *Repraesentare* does not merely mean "to represent," but also *to present* or *cause to be present.*

[29] Cf. Ph. Scharsch, O.M.I., *Eine schwierige Stelle über die Eucharistie bei Tertullian,* in the *Katholik,* 1909, II, 21–33.

[30] "*Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha ut*

In his fourth book against Marcion, Tertullian endeavors to show the agreement existing between the Old and New Testaments. For this purpose he reviews the life of Christ, and, among other things, discusses the institution of the Holy Eucharist. Marcion had tried to disprove the reality of the body of Christ by arguing that Christ had no body, and therefore assumed the bread into the unity of His Person. Tertullian replies that if this were true, Christ must have given bread for us in His death, whereas in matter of fact He made bread His body, because bread was a figure of His body in the Old Testament, as we learn from Jeremias.

The main difficulty of the passage arises from the expression "*figura corporis mei.*" Some scholars, as LEIMBACH, STRUCKMANN (p. 269), and ADAM (p. 21 f.), interpret "*figura*" in the sense of "*form of appearance,*" while others hold it to mean "*symbol.*" To my mind SCHARSCH has proved that in this passage "*symbol*" is the correct interpretation. In *Adv. Marc.*, IV, 21, "*figurâ inventus homo,*" *figurâ* means "in His outward appearance." But in the present passage the term clearly signifies "*symbol,*" as is evident from the context, especially from the words, "*veterem fuisse istam figuram,*" *i. e.*, "this symbol is taken from the Old Testament," and also by what follows, "*ut autem et*

suum — indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret deus — acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, hoc est corpus meum dicendo, i. e. figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Ceterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset. Aut si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit, quia corporis carebat veritate, ergo panem debuit tradere pro nobis. Faciebat ad vanitatem Marcionis, ut panis crucifigeretur. Cur autem panem corpus suum adpellat et non magis peponem, quem Marcion cordis loco habuit non intellegens veterem fuisse istam figuram corporis Christi dicentis per Hieremiam (XI, 19): Adversus me cogitaverunt cogitatum dicentes: Venite coiciamus lignum in panem ejus, scilicet crucem in corpus ejus? Itaque inluminator antiquitatum, quid tunc voluerit significasse panem, satis declaravit, corpus suum vocans panem." Ed. KROYMANN, 559^{24}–560^{14}.

sanguinis veterem figuram in vino cognoscas," where the author means to say that the symbol of wine is likewise contained in the Old Testament.

Thus interpreted,[31] *Adv. Marc.*, IV, 40 *is valueless as a proof for the Real Presence.* Tertullian merely desires to show that by using the words, "This is my body," Christ confirmed the mode of expression employed by the Old Testament writers. But neither does *this text furnish an argument against the doctrine of the Real Presence.* We need not assume that Tertullian wished to give the words, "This is my body," a retrospective meaning only, in reference to the Old Testament, and that he does not use them in their literal signification. Other expressions, especially those which emphasize the veneration due to the Blessed Sacrament, *make it certain* that he did *not* regard it purely as a symbol. "We reverently take care," he writes, "lest any particle of our bread or wine fall upon the ground." [32] In another passage, he writes of Christians engaged in the manufacture of idols: "It is a deplorable outrage for a Christian to come away from idols into the church . . . to apply to the Lord's body those same hands which construct bodies for the demons. . . . Idol-makers are even raised to the ecclesiastical state. O wickedness! The Jews laid hands on Christ once, *these mangle His body daily. Such hands as these should be cut off."* [33]

[31] In further explanation of this passage, SCHARSCH remarks: "When Tertullian says: *hoc est corpus meum dicendo, i. e. figura corporis mei,* he uses *"figura"* of bread in general, and not of the particular bread that Jesus held in His hands. Furthermore, the appositive phrase, *"figura corporis mei,"* must be the explanation of the predicate, *"corpus meum,"* not, as is generally believed (also by STRUCKMANN), of the subject, *"hoc"*; grammatically the connection rests on *"corpus meum,"* as is also demanded by *Adv. Marc.*, III, 19, where the words of institution are explained similarly as in IV, 40, with this addition: *"ut et hinc jam eum intellegas corporis sui figuram pani dedisse, cujus retro corpus in pane prophetes figuravit, ipso domino hoc sacramentum postea interpretaturo."*

[32] *De. Cor. Militis*, 3.

[33] *De Idolol.*, 7: *"Pro scelus! Semel Judaei Christo manus intule-*

8. The position of CYPRIAN in regard to the doctrine of the Eucharist is equally difficult to determine. LOOFS (p. 58) holds that Cyprian did not believe that the body of Christ is really present in the Eucharist. He attributes to Him a *symbolic-sacrificial* conception. Bread and wine are called the body and blood of Christ because they are a memorial (*memoria*) of His passion and consequently of His body and blood in the sacrificial state. This view of Cyprian's position, LOOFS claims, is generally accepted by Protestant writers on the history of dogma, and can be fully substantiated from the author's *Ep.* 63, 2 and 13. GOETZ and SEEBERG[34] hold the same opinion. *But this view of the case is false.*

Like other ecclesiastical writers, CYPRIAN again and again declares that the body and blood of Christ are present in the Eucharist, that we drink His blood, that it is offered up as a sacrifice, etc. In one place he goes so far as to say that Christians come in contact (*contingimus*) with Christ's body, and that, therefore, they can in perfect truth call Him "our bread" in the Lord's Prayer.[35] We are consequently justified in assuming that CYPRIAN'S opinion on the Eucharist coincided with that of TERTULLIAN, whom he held in such high esteem, and also with that of the other ecclesiastical writers who preceded him, especially since he gives no indication of departing from their teaching. In the light of this teaching, therefore, we must also interpret his remarks in *Ep.* 63, unless they can be clearly shown to contain a contrary doctrine.

runt, isti quotidie corpus ejus lacessunt. O manus praecidendae!"

[34] GOETZ, *Das Christentum Cyprians* (1896), 23; SEEBERG, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, I, 2nd ed. (1908), p. 548, note 1.

[35] *De Dominica Oratione*, 18: *"Sic et panem nostrum vocamus, quia Christus eorum, qui corpus ejus contingimus, panis est."* In the same place he says again: *"dum abstenti et non communicantes a caelesti pane prohibemur, a Christi corpore separemur."* And *Ep.* 63, 7: *"Sic nec nos sanguinem Christi possemus bibere, nisi Christus calcatus prius fuisset."*

This epistle is the only ante-Nicene writing that deals exclusively with the celebration of the Eucharist. It treats of the abuse that had crept into certain Christian communities, of substituting water for wine in the celebration of the sacrifice. This was due to the fact that the Eucharistic service was held early in the morning, and the worshippers feared that the smell of wine would betray them to their persecutors (n. 15). It is CYPRIAN'S aim to show, not merely that Christ at the Last Supper consecrated wine and not water, but in particular (n. 3–7), that in numerous passages of the Old Testament wine is a type of the blood and the passion of Christ, whilst water (n. 8) is always symbolical of baptism. In n. 2 he writes: "Since Christ says, 'I am the true vine,' the blood of Christ is assuredly not water, but wine; neither can His blood, by which we are redeemed and quickened, *appear* (*nec potest videri*) *to be in the cup,* when the cup contains not the wine *which is shown forth* (*ostenditur*) *as the blood of Christ,* which is heralded by the mystery and testimony of all the Scriptures." [36] It is claimed that the words *videri* and *ostenditur* in this text exclude belief in the Real Presence. STRUCKMANN remarks (p. 309) that *videri* may also mean "to regard," and must be so understood in this passage. I would not say this, but translate it by "to appear" or "to have the appearance of." But when we consider the sequence of ideas, to which Cyprian himself refers in the last part of the sentence, the difficulty disappears. All passages of Scripture, he says, point to the fact that wine is the blood of Christ. Throughout wine is shown or represented (*ostendi-*

[36] "*Nam cum dicat Christus: Ego sum vitis vera, sanguis Christi non aqua est utique, sed vinum. Nec potest videri sanguis eius, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, esse in calice, quando vinum desit calici, quod Christi sanguis ostenditur, qui scripturarum omnium sacramento et testimonio praedicetur.*"

tur) as the blood of Christ. Now if there be no wine in the chalice, *this relation to the blood of Christ is entirely wanting, nothing points to the blood, there is not even the appearance* (*non potest videri*) *of the blood of Christ.* So understood — and it must be so understood — the passage offers no difficulty.

The same interpretation must be given to the phrase "*sanguis ostenditur*" in the second passage of Cyprian's 63d Epistle (n. 13). This passage runs as follows: "Because Christ bore us all (He who also bore our sins), we see that by water is understood the people, but by wine is shown the blood of Christ (*videmus in aqua populum intellegi, in vino vero ostendi sanguinem Christi*)." Therefore, water must be mingled in the chalice with wine, in order to express the union of the people with Christ. Protestants argue from this passage as follows: According to CYPRIAN there is the same relation between water and the people, as between wine and the blood of Christ. If water is merely a symbol, so must wine be. As an instance of such reasoning, we quote the words of EBRARD: "*For him* [CYPRIAN] *the wine is not Christ's blood itself, any more than the water is the congregation itself, but it is a symbolic representation of the blood once shed.*"[37] We readily grant that Cyprian might have said, "Christ's blood *is* in the wine," instead of "in the wine is shown the blood of Christ." But He chose the latter expression, either to make his comparison uniform and proportionate, or, as in n. 2 of this same Epistle, *to refer back to the Old Testament passages,* in which wine is employed as a symbol for the blood of Christ. Hence, when Cyprian says that the wine represents, or shows forth (*ostendere*) the blood of our Lord, the reason is that

[37] *Das Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahl und seine Geschichte,* I (1845), p. 248.

his argument requires a parity between water and wine, and wine as a symbol furnishes a sufficient basis for his method of arguing.

9. The Fathers of *the fourth and fifth centuries* are explicit and definite in expressing their belief in the doctrine of the Real Presence.[38] It is true, some, especially among the Greeks, betray the influence of the spiritualistic language of Origen.[39] When the Holy Sacrifice is mentioned, bread and wine are often alluded to as the figures or symbols (*ἀντίτυπα, σύμβολα*) of the body and blood of Christ, whose bloody death the Eucharistic species are intended to represent.[40] St. John Chrysostom so frequently and clearly speaks of the Eucharist, that he has been given the title, *Doctor Eucharistiæ*. Loofs (p. 54) denounces his language as " fearfully coarse and shocking." Most likely he

[38] St. Athanasius says in his fourth festal letter, that Jesus admonished His disciples no more to eat of the flesh of the lamb, but His own flesh. St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.*, 45, 19) writes: " Doubt not when you hear of the blood of God, but without hesitation and scruple eat the body and drink the blood, if you desire to attain eternal life."

[39] Thus for example, St. Basil writes (*Ep.*, 8, 4): " We eat His flesh and drink His blood, in that, by virtue of His Incarnation and His earthly life, we partook of the word and wisdom. For He called His flesh and blood His whole mystic life in the flesh and His teaching, by which the soul is nourished."

[40] Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.*, VIII, 596: *Αὐτὸς τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἐυθέου οἰκονομίας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρεδίδου μαθηταῖς, τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιεῖσθαι παρακελευόμενος . . . ἄρτῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι συμβόλῳ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος παρεδίδου.*— Macarius, *Hom.*, 27, 17: *Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ἀντίτυπον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ κυρίου ἐσθίουσιν.*— *Constit. Apost.*, VII, 25, 4: *Εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σώματος, οὗ καὶ ἀντίτυπα ἐπιτελοῦμεν.*— In the Canon of Serapion, discovered by Wobbermin, it is said of the bread: *Ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος τοῦ ἁγίου σώματός ἐστιν ὁμοίωμαι*; and in like manner of the wine. After this a prayer is said that the Logos might deign to come over the bread, *ἵνα γένηται ὁ ἄρτος σῶμα τοῦ λόγου*. But we should not let ourselves be deceived by such expressions as *ἀντίτυπα* and the like. This is best shown by St. Cyril of Jerusalem. Although stating his belief in the Real Presence in explicit terms, he nevertheless says (*Cat. Myst.*, 5, 8): *γευόμενοι γὰρ οὐκ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου κελεύονται γεύσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀντιτύπου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ χριστοῦ.*

had in mind such sentences as the following: "You should eat the saving blood, even as you would suck it with your lips from the divine and spotless side;" [41] and, "How many now say: I wish to see His form, His figure, His clothes and shoes! Lo! Himself thou seest, Himself thou touchest, Himself thou eatest." [42]

10. As regards the teaching of ST. AUGUSTINE on the Eucharist, opinions are very much divided. DORNER gathered a number of passages from his writings which he claims *contradict the idea of the Real Presence,* and thinks that "one could absolutely regard this teaching as foreign to St. Augustine, were it not that we find another series of texts which argue for the other side, inasmuch as they *appear to affirm explicitly the Real Presence.*[43] LOOFS says that Protestants are unanimous in understanding his expressions in a spiritual sense, because of the fact that, when he speaks of the eating of the body and blood of Christ, he always has in mind the sanctification produced by the grace of the Sacrament.[44] HARNACK is not quite so positive. He says, however: "No one has more unequivocally rejected the realistic interpretation in regard to the Eucharist [than Augustine] and pointed out the fact that that which *'visibiliter celebratur, oportet invisibiliter intellegi.'* [45] . . . It is nevertheless true that, as in the case of the Greek Fathers, the thought may appear here and there in the writings of Augustine, that the sacramental body of the Lord must be identified with His real body. As for myself, I have found no passage which conveys this unmistakably." [46] SEEBERG [47] says the same. *Among Catholics* it is readily conceded that there are some passages in the

[41] *Hom. De Paenit.*, 9, 1.
[42] *Hom. in Matt.*, 82, 1 f.
[43] *Augustin, sein theol. System* (1873), p. 267 ff.
[44] *Realenzykl.*, I, 61 ff.; *Leitfaden der Dogmengeschichte* (1906), pp. 408–410.
[45] *In Ps.*, 98, 9 fin.
[46] *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.* III, 4th ed., 157.
[47] *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, II, 2nd ed., p. 411.

writings of St. Augustine which seem to favor a symbolical interpretation; but it is argued that none of these passages necessarily opposes belief in the reality of the body of Christ in the Eucharist, whilst other passages clearly teach the Real Presence. This is the opinion of Schanz, O. Blank, and K. Adam.[48]

In connection with the words of institution, St. Augustine, in many passages, *clearly affirms the traditional belief in the Real Presence.* This is true especially of his sermons. "That chalice, nay rather the contents of the chalice, sanctified by the word of God, is the blood of Christ." (*Serm. 227.*) "What you see, what your eyes declare to you, is bread and the chalice; but what your faith demands you to teach, is that the bread is the body, the chalice the blood of Christ." (*Serm. 272.*) The unworthy communicant, too, really receives the body of Christ.[49] Of the Jews who were later converted to Christ, he says: "After His ascension they turned to Him whom they had crucified, and believingly drank in the sacrament His blood, which in their blindness they had spilt." (*Serm. 87, 11, 14.*)

There are, however, many other passages in the writings of St. Augustine in which he either (a) *insists on a spiritual interpretation of the Eucharist,* or (b) refers to it as *a symbol of the body of Christ,* or as the body of Christ in *"a certain sense,"* or (c) understands by the Eucharistic body of Christ *the ecclesiastical com-*

[48] Schanz, *Theol. Quartalschrift,* 1896, 79 ff.; O. Blank, *Die Lehre des hl. Augustin vom Sakr. der Euch.* (1907); Adam, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Augustin,* Paderborn, 1908. We are especially indebted to Adam for establishing the connection between the doctrine of Augustine on the Eucharist and those of his predecessors in Africa, and also his own teaching on the sacraments.

[49] *"Indigne quisque sumens dominicum sacramentum non efficit, ut, quia ipse malus est, malum sit, aut, quia non ad salutem accipit, nihil acceperit. Corpus enim domini et sanguis domini nihilominus erat etiam illis, quibus dicebat apostolus: Qui manducat indigne, judicium sibi manducat et bibit."* (*Bapt.,* V, 8).

munity, and accordingly considers the Eucharist as a *symbol of the unity of the Church.* Rightly understood, however, these passages cannot shake our conviction that his belief in regard to the Eucharist was identical with that held by the Church of his time.

(a) The passages in which St. Augustine, after the example of our Lord Himself at Capharnaum, insists on *a spiritual interpretation of the Eucharist,* are to be understood in this wise: The proper content of the Eucharistic mystery is the humanity of Jesus; but its efficacy for salvation *results from the fact that it leads man to the divinity of Christ;* it is in this principally that the eating of the flesh of Christ differs from the eating of mere flesh, such as the Jews in the synagogue at Capharnaum pictured to themselves, and from the sacrificial meals of the pagans.

To this class belongs first of all the passage *Ps.* 98, 9. Here Augustine, having quoted the verse (98, 5), "*Adorate scabellum pedum ejus,*" asks: How can this command to adore the earth as the footstool of God be reconciled with that other, "The Lord thy God, shalt thou adore"? (*Deut.* 6, 13.) He finds the solution of the difficulty by interpreting the footstool as the humanity of Jesus, and says: "Whereas He lived in this flesh, and gave us this flesh as a food of salvation, *yet no one eats this flesh unless he has first adored it,* it follows that we not only do not sin when we adore it, but we do sin if we do not adore it." He goes on to say, however, that we do not adore the humanity of Christ, but "we adore that Holy One whose footstool it is." Whosoever continues to cling in thought to the flesh, to him he applies the warning of the Lord: "The spirit it is that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." And he concludes: "*Understand spiritually* that which I have spoken to you. Not this body which you see,

shall you eat, and not that blood which my executioners have spilt, shall you drink. I have proposed to you a mystery; understood spiritually, it will give you life."

(b) In those passages in which AUGUSTINE calls the Eucharist *a symbol* (*figura*) *of the body of Christ,* or the body of Christ *"in a certain sense,"* he has in mind *the difference existing between the "body of Christ in the bread" and the historic or sensible body* of Christ in the Eucharist; he does not deny the reality of Christ's body, but merely its materiality. To this class belong the following texts:

In his first sermon on *Psalm* 33, AUGUSTINE discusses the text 1 *Kings* 21, 13, in which David feigns madness and where it is said of him according to the Septuagint (but neither the Hebrew nor the Vulgate), "He bore himself in his hands." Augustine asks, "Who bore himself in his hands?" and he answers: "Christ alone did this, when He said, 'This is my body,' for He bore that very body in His hands." In his second sermon on the same Psalm he modifies his statement somewhat: *"And He bore Himself as it were* (*quodammodo*), *when He said, 'This is my body.'"* DORNER misunderstands this passage when he writes: "Christ bore a symbol of His body, i. e., the Church, in His hands." By employing the term *"quodammodo,"* Augustine merely wishes to reject the coarse material meaning which his words might seem to bear. Similarly in *Ep.* 98, 9: "If the sacraments bore no similarity to the things of which they are the symbols (*sacramenta*), they would not be sacraments at all. Because of this similarity they generally receive the name of the things they represent. *For, just as "in a certain manner* (*secundum quendam modum*) *the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ,* and the sacrament of the blood of

Christ is the blood of Christ, so also is the sacrament of faith (baptism) the faith." Hence it could be said of children who had been baptized, that they had received the faith, even though, as yet, they were not conscious of it. Baptized children possess the faith in reality, and with it its power to save, but they do not possess it as *a conscious personal good.* "AUGUSTINE draws a rigid line of distinction between the sacramental *'similitudo'* and the personal possession of salvation, not only in the sense of the unreal as opposed to the real, or of the symbolic as against the symbolized, but in the sense of the material in contradistinction to the personal." (ADAM, p. 116.)

The text *De Doctr. Christ.,* III, 16 is of the same character. "If a passage of Holy Scripture," it reads, "either enjoins a crime or vice, or forbids an act of benevolence or prudence, *it is figurative.* The Lord says: 'Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you.' This seems to enjoin a crime or vice; it is therefore a figure (*figura*), enjoining that we should have a share in the passion of our Lord and that we should retain a sweet and profitable memory of the fact that His flesh was crucified and wounded for us." ST. AUGUSTINE here clearly rejects the materialistic conception of the Eucharist, inasmuch as he characterizes as sinful (*facinus vel flagitium*) that which, according to the literal understanding of the passage, the Lord demands of us.[50]

[50] P. REGINALD SCHULTES, O.P., in the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie,* Paderborn, 1909, 488–490, has taken exception to my interpretation of the passage. He refers to *Retract.,* I, 18, where St. Augustine himself describes his allegorical mode of interpreting the Scriptures in *De Doct. Christ.* as "surprising." But in reality this disapproval applies to the treatise *De Genesi contra Manichaeos,* not to *De Doctr. Christ.* Schultes has simply misunderstood Bardenhewer (*Patrology,* p. 488). He further appeals to the *Tract. in Joan,* 26, 6 (*P. L.,* XXXV, 1613 f.). Augustine here treats of the words of promise, but he does not, as Schultes claims, give "a clear and decisive interpre-

(c) Protestants contend that St. Augustine held a purely symbolical conception of the Eucharist. To support this claim they appeal especially to those passages in which he compares the Eucharistic body of Christ, which is made up of many grains and grapes, *with incorporation into the mystic body of Christ, and describes it as the union of the faithful with Christ and with each other.* According to Dorner (p. 263), "Augustine regards the Eucharist as essentially the sacrament of incorporation into the Church." Harnack says (*Hist. of Dog.*, V, p. 159), "that the *res visibilis* is not the real body, but the incorporation into the body of Christ, which is the Church." We do not deny that Augustine makes use of this interpretation, but it merely affects the outward appearance and operation of the sacrament, not its specific content. *To acknowledge the Eucharist as a symbol of unity, is not tantamount to asserting that it is not also, and much more, something else.*[51] It is evident that in his symbolical explanation, Augustine followed Cyprian, though he intended as little as did Cyprian to clear up the mystery itself by the symbolism of the elements.

The classical passage adduced to show this manner of interpretation is *Sermo 272.* In order to explain what the body of Christ in the Eucharist is, he takes

tation of this very passage of John," but rather an allegorical one, declaring that to eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ means to participate in the mystical body of Christ, *i. e.* the Church. He says: "*Hunc itaque cibum et potum societatem vult intellegi corporis et membrorum suorum, quod est sancta ecclesia in praedestinatis et vocatis et justificatis et glorificatis sanctis et fidelibus ejus. Quorum primum jam factum est, i. e. praedestinatio; secundum et tertium factum est et fit et fiet, i. e. vocatio et justificatio; quartum vero nunc in spe est, in re autem futurum est, i. e. glorificatio.*"

[51] Schanz (*Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1896, p. 86) rightly remarks: "Augustine refers to the Eucharist only in so far as it is a sign. That it may be something else — and the readers knew that it was something else — does not pertain to the matter at all." Adam (*Die Eucharistielehre*, p. 151): "The occurrence of the personal accent in the Eucharistic meal struck him so forcibly that here he thought he could pass over the real value of the sacrament, which he had already firmly maintained elsewhere."

up 1 *Cor.* 12, 27, "You are the body of Christ, and members of member," and says: "If you are the body of Christ and members, you receive your mystery at the table of the Lord. Why is He in the bread? The bread is not made from one grain, but from many; when you were exorcized, you were ground; when you were baptized, you were sprinkled with water; when you received the fire of the Holy Ghost, you were baked. In like manner is it with the chalice. Thus did Christ the Lord *wish to make it understood that we belong to Him, He blessed the mystery of our peace and our harmony at His table.*"

SCHANZ concludes his study on the Eucharistic teaching of AUGUSTINE with these words: "ST. AUGUSTINE is neither a spiritualist nor a symbolist, but he teaches the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist" (p. 115). I should rather say that AUGUSTINE is inclined to interpret the Eucharist symbolically, *without, however, wishing to exclude the Real Presence.* It should also be remembered that the word "symbol" is employed nowadays in an altogether different sense from that in which it was used by the ancients. "What we call a symbol," writes HARNACK, "is something entirely different from what the ancient Church designated by that name. We understand a symbol to mean something which is not that which it signifies; in the early days a symbol meant something which in some sense or other was that which it signified. The symbol is the mystery, and the mystery was not conceivable without a symbol." [52]

§ 2. Transubstantiation

1. The Council of Trent declared (*Sess.* 13, 4): "Since, however, Christ our Redeemer said that that

[52] *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.* 4th ed. I., 476 and II, 457.

which He offered under the species of bread was truly His body, the Church of God was always persuaded, and this holy synod again declares it, that by the consecration of the bread and wine a change of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His blood, takes place." This change, the Council adds, is appropriately designated by the Church as *transubstantiatio*.[1]

Batiffol remarks [2] that the manner of Christ's real presence in the Blessed Sacrament has for centuries been the subject of theological speculation and latterly a source of much controversy. This is due to the fact that *the doctrine of transubstantiation developed but slowly, and it was only at the time of the Fourth Lateran Council that an agreement on the subject was reached.* Batiffol exaggerates the indecision that marked the earlier days in regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation just as he exaggerates the recognition given by present-day Protestants to the Real Presence (above p. 2). In matter of fact neither is as great as Batiffol would have us believe.

2. Jesus said to His disciples, "This is my body," and immediately that which before was bread, and continued to appear as bread, was really no longer bread, but His body. A change must necessarily have taken place, and this change must have been substantial, since the accidents (appearances) of bread remained as before. It cannot be said that the body of Christ became united with bread in the same manner as the soul is united to the body. If this were so, Christ could not have said, "This is my body;" He would have had to say, "Herein is my body," or use some expression sim-

[1] The word was first employed by Hildebert of Tours, about 1100.
[2] *L'Eucharistie*, 1906, p. 380.

ilar to this. Christ, however, did not explicitly proclaim the doctrine of transubstantiation, nor have we in nature an example of any such change where appearances remain unchanged. It is only by the most profound cogitation that this doctrine can be drawn from the words of Christ, and even after the Fourth Lateran Council there were eminent orthodox theologians who claimed that the doctrine of transubstantiation cannot strictly be deduced from our Lord's words.[3] *It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the ancient Fathers,* who were wont to adhere strictly to the expressions of Holy Writ, *did not enunciate, and probably did not even explicitly know, this doctrine.* The credit of having been the first to make a clear distinction between *"veritas"* and *"figura," i. e.,* between truth and symbol, or between essence and appearance in the Eucharist, belongs to PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, who wrote in the ninth century.[4] The first to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation was BERENGARIUS OF TOURS, in the eleventh century. This was his chief error, and it was the only one upon which all his

[3] Thus DUNS SCOTUS (*In IV Libr. Sent.,* dist. 11, qu. 3, n. 15); Cardinal CAJETAN (cf. SUAREZ, *In qu.* 75, a. 1); MELCHIOR CANUS (*De Locis Theolog.,* III, 3); cf. the passages in BATIFFOL'S work, already cited, p. 383 ff.

[4] STIEREN is entirely wrong when he claims (see his edition of Irenæus, II, p. 329) that PASCHASIUS was the first to introduce the idea of transubstantiation into the Catholic Church. The doctrine was clearly affirmed by many Fathers, as early as the fourth century, especially by CYRIL, AMBROSE, and CHRYSOSTOM. PASCHASIUS merely drew the conclusions from their teaching and clearly formulated the manner in which the miracle takes place. Only the second half of the following quotation from HARNACK is true: "He [PASCHASIUS] for the first time in the history of the Church, declares without hesitation that the sacramental body is that which was born of Mary and becomes such by a change which leaves only the appearances unchanged." (*Hist. of Dogma,* V, 3rd ed. 315.) Paschasius' mistake was that he emphasized too strongly the identity of the Eucharistic with the historic Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, who died on the cross, without making a clear distinction between Christ's different states, and thereby introducing a conception of the Eucharist which bordered on the coarse idea harbored by the inhabitants of Capharnaum. In other places of his writings he himself vigorously rejects this view.

adherents agreed with him, the only one, too, which in his confession of faith, made at Rome in 1079, he was forced to abjure.[5]

3. As was said above, *a clear distinction between substance and accidents* in the Holy Eucharist was first drawn by PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS. How great was the confusion in the terminology employed, can be seen from a few examples which have led certain modern writers into error.

Abbot RUPERT OF DEUTZ (d. 1135) was pointed out by BELLARMINE[6] as an opponent of the doctrine of transubstantiation. BATIFFOL (p. 385) affirms that he taught the permanence of the substances of the bread and wine. SCHANZ thinks that this is at least probable.[7] There is indeed a passage in Rupert's writings which approaches this idea very closely; but there is another which formally excludes it and at the same time shows that he did not draw the right kind of a distinction between substance (*substantia, natura*) and accident (*species exterior*).[8] At one time he speaks clearly of "the change of bread and

[5] Denzinger, *Enchirid.*, n. 355.

[6] *De Euch.*, 3, 11.

[7] *Die Lehre von den heiligen Sakr.* (1893), p. 352.

[8] The first passage is *In Exod.*, 2, 10 (*P.L.*, CLXVII, 617): "... *totum adtribuetis operationi spiritus sancti, cuius effectus non est destruere vel corrumpere substantiam, quamcumque suos in usus adsumit, sed substantiae bono permanenti, quod erat, invisibiliter adicere, quod non erat. Sicut naturam humanam non destruxit, cum illam operatione sua ex utero virginis deus verbo in unitatem personae coniunxit, sic substantiam panis et vini secundum exteriorem speciem quinque sensibus subactam non mutat aut destruit, cum eidem verbo in unitatem corporis eiusdem, quod in cruce pependit, et sanguinis eiusdem, quem de latere suo fudit, ista coniungit.*" On the other hand, *In Exod.* 4, 7 (*P.L., l. c.*, 704), he says, commenting on the verse: "*Et inaurabis eam auro purissimo*" (Ex. 25, 24): "*Cur non fusilis aut ductilis est tota ex auro, sed facta de lignis setim inauratur auro purissimo? Videlicet quia species utraeque panis et vini de terra sumuntur, utraeque de communi vel publico haec granario, illa de apotheca capiuntur. Sed accedit substantiarum atque specierum creator deus atque formator spiritus sanctus, aurumque verbi incarnati, aurum Christi crucifixi mortui ac sepulti atque post gloriosam resurrectionem adsumpti in caelum ad dexteram patris non superficie tenus inducit, sed efficaciter haec in carnem et sanguinem eius convertit, permanente licet specie exteriori.*"

wine into the body and blood of Christ, the outward appearances remaining." At another time, however, he remarks that God does not destroy the nature, nor does He change or destroy the substance of the bread and wine, though, it is true he adds, "according to the exterior action upon the senses."

Thus light is shed on the expression of the earlier ecclesiastical writers, who compared the mystery of the Eucharist with that of the Incarnation to show that the human nature of Christ was not absorbed by His divine nature, as the Monophysites claimed. Three writers are *wrongly placed by Batiffol*[9] *in the category of those who opposed the doctrine of transubstantiation; they are the following:*

(a) Theodoret of Cyrus, who repeatedly declares that Christ at the Last Supper did not change the nature (*φύσις*) of the bread but that the original substance (*οὐσία*) remained. But he also says that the bread and wine became something else, that a transmutation (*μεταβολή*) did take place, and that "we eat the members of the Bridegroom and drink His blood."[10]

(b) Pope Gelasius I. (492-496) writes: "[Bread and wine] by the action of the Holy Ghost are transformed *into the divine substance, and yet retain their own proper nature.*"[11] Like Batiffol, Mirbt also

[9] *L'Eucharistie*, p. 279 ff.; 318 ff.; 319 ff.

[10] *Eranistes*, II (*P.G.*, 83, 169): Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι καὶ ἁπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν· νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. *Ibid.* (*P.G.*, p. 56): Ἠβουλήθη γὰρ τοὺς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταλαγχάνοντας μὴ τῇ φύσει τῶν βλεπομένων προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐναλλαγῆς πιστεύειν τῇ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος γεγενημένῃ μεταβολῇ . . . οὗτος τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλών, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς. The last member of the phrase would denote a *realistic-dynamic* conception of the Eucharist. Steitz and Loofs especially have discovered such an idea in this passage.—*In Cant. Cantic.*, c. 3: Οἱ τοίνυν ἐσθίοντες τοῦ νυμφίου τὰ μέλη καὶ πίνοντες αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα τῆς γαμικῆς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνουσι κοινωνίας.

[11] *De Duabus Naturis*, c. 14 (*Epist. Rom. Pont.*, ed. Thiel, I, 541 f.). "Certe sacramenta quae sumimus

finds in these words a denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation, but wrongly so.[12]

(c) The Epistle to Cæsarius, found among the writings of Chrysostom, says that after the consecration "the nature of the bread remains." The expressions quoted above make for the inference that in this passage also the accidents or appearances are meant.[13]

4. The comparison of the miracle of the Eucharist with the Incarnation of the Logos was first employed by Justin Martyr in his attempt (the first we know of) to explain the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. We have already quoted his words (above, p. 5). Justin manifestly wishes to show his pagan readers how it is possible for the consecrated food to be the body and blood of Jesus. He compares this fact with the Incarnation, and discovers that they both have one feature in common, namely, that both are produced by the word (λόγος) of God,— the Incarnation by the Divine Logos (the Second Divine Person), and the Eucharist by a word of prayer. The

corporis et sanguinis Christi divina res est, propter quod et per eadem 'divinae efficimur consortes naturae'; et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus et sumimus: ut, sicut in hanc, scilicet in divinam, transeant sancto spiritu perficiente substantiam, permanentes tamen in suae proprietate naturae, sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repraesentant, ex quibus constat proprie permanentibus, unum Christum, quia integrum verumque, permanere demonstrant."

[12] *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums* (1901), p. 68.

[13] The passage may be found in Migne, *P.G.*, LII, 758. "*Sicut enim, antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus, divina autem illum sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab adpellatione panis, dignus autem habitus dominici corporis adpellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit et non duo corpora, sed unum corpus filii praedicamus* (*i. e.* we do not mean two bodies of Christ, one in the Eucharist and the other in heaven, but only one body of Christ), *sic et hic divina ἐνιδρυσάσης, i. e. insidente, corpori natura, unum filium, unam personam utraque haec fecerunt.*"

comparison would have been more complete, did the mode of the Eucharistic miracle coincide with the mode of the Incarnation, in other words, if Christ united Himself to the bread in the same manner in which He assumed human nature. In that case, JUSTIN might be said to teach "a real dynamic change in the elements, which would include the assumption theory" (LOOFS), or theory of impanation. LOOFS (p. 41) inclines to take this view, but is forced to admit that Justin's declaration that the Eucharistic food is the flesh and blood of Christ, is not favorable to this interpretation. SCHEIWILER,[14] on the other hand, claims that Justin explicitly taught transubstantiation. He is of the opinion that εὐχαριστεῖν, in Justin's writings, has the meaning of "to change." But in this he goes too far. Nor can we admit the view of BAUR and SEMISCH,[15] who claim that Justin declares the Eucharist to be a new incarnation of the Logos, who in the Eucharist becomes flesh, as He once did in Mary, but a new flesh, not that which He first assumed. Against such a view is the fact that Justin calls the Eucharist "the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh."

As a matter of fact, Justin simply wished to say that the Eucharistic repast is the body and blood of Christ. *As regards the manner* in which this takes place, whether by change or union, *he says as little as the other ante-Nicene Fathers.*[16] The mystery of the Incarnation became the subject of speculation only in the fourth or fifth century. Justin's supplementary sentence, "[The Eucharistic food] from which our flesh and blood are nourished κατὰ μεταβολήν," *i. e.*, by transformation, signifies, according to LOOFS, that our

[14] *Die Elemente der Eucharistie*, p. 37.

[15] BAUR, *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1839, II, p. 96. SEMISCH, *Justin der Märtyrer*, II, p. 440.

[16] STRUCKMANN (p. 56) and BATIFFOL (p. 141 f.) are of the same opinion.

flesh and blood, through the Eucharist, undergo a change, which renders them immortal. But Ignatius had already called it the "medicine of immortality" (*φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*).

5. St. Irenæus is as clear in his testimony in regard to the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist as Justin, but he too does not affirm the doctrine of transubstantiation in explicit terms. Yet Struckmann [17] believes that this doctrine can be gleaned from the following words of the Saint: "How can they [the Gnostics] be convinced that the bread over which thanks have been given is the body of their Lord, and that the cup contains His blood, if they do not acknowledge Him to be the Son of the Creator of the world?" (*Adv. Haer.*, IV, 18, 4). Yet this conclusion is anything but evident. These other words of the Saint are more to the point and deserve more attention: "As the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it has received the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly, so also our bodies, when they partake of the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible." (IV, 18, 5.) The difficulty lies in determining what Irenæus meant by the so-called earthly and heavenly ingredients of the Eucharist. The explanation offered by Döllinger [18] and Scheiwiler,[19] that the *earthly* element signifies the flesh and blood of Christ, must be rejected. The earthly element (*πρᾶγμα ἐπίγειον*) must mean either bread and wine, or the appearances of bread and wine. Protestant theologians, *e. g.*, B. Kahnis,[20] Harnack,[21] and Seeberg [22] adopt

[17] *Die Gegenwart Christi*, p. 72. This hardly agrees with what Struckmann writes on p. 56.

[18] *Die Eucharistie in den drei ersten Jahrh.* (1826), p. 35.

[19] *Die Elemente der Eucharistie*, p. 50 f.

[20] *Die Lehre vom Abendmahle* (1851), p. 193.

[21] *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, I, 4th ed. 476.

[22] *Lehrb. d. Dogmengeschichte*, I, 2nd ed. 370.

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the former hypothesis, whilst Catholic theologians, such as BELLARMINE, SCHWANE,[23] and STRUCKMANN,[24] prefer the latter. The Catholic interpretation finds support in the circumstance that the argument of Irenæus against the Gnostics would have more force were he to admit a change in the bread. According to the greater number of scholars, like HARNACK (*loc. cit.*), the heavenly element (πρᾶγμα οὐράνιον) is the body of Christ; according to STEITZ[25] it is "the heavenly blessing which consecrates," according to LOOFS, (p. 47), the spirit of God (πνεῦμα θεοῦ) called down upon the elements; according to SEEBERG (p. 369), the Logos. *Protestants are unanimous in denying that Irenæus in this passage speaks of a change in the elements.* It is plain, under the circumstances, that no convincing proof can be drawn from the passage.

On the other hand, what Irenæus says of the *Gnostic Mark, can hardly be explained otherwise than that the faithful at this period had a universal belief in the change of the Eucharistic elements.* "Pretending," he says (I, 13, 2), "to consecrate a cup of wine, and protracting to great length the words of invocation (τόν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως), he contrives to give to the same [the contents of the cup], a purple and reddish color, so that Charis, one of the rulers of the universe, should be thought to drop her blood into that cup by virtue of his invocation." This example of Gnostic jugglery seems to indicate that the Church at this period taught the change of the wine into blood.

ADAM thinks[26] that TERTULLIAN denies the doctrine of transubstantiation. In support of his opinion he appeals especially to *Adv. Marc.*, III, 19: "*panem corpus suum adpellans,*" and IV, 40: "*corpus suum*

[23] *Dogmengesch.*, I, p. 664.
[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 78.
[25] *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theol.*, IX, 450 ff.
[26] *Die Eucharisticlehre des hl. Augustin*, p. 22 ff.

vocans panem;" but both these passages are irrelevant in the light of SCHARSCH's new interpretation, which we have referred to above (p. 13). There still remain two other passages [27] which can likewise be explained in this sense — that the bread and wine are only the form in which the body and blood of Christ appear. So it is with CYPRIAN, who, as ADAM grants (p. 35), was entirely unconscious of the problem how the Real Presence is to be reconciled with the essential existence of the bread and wine.

6. *When we come to the fourth century, we find ourselves on more solid ground* as regards the doctrine of transubstantiation. For at this period the Fathers clearly taught the change of elements in the Eucharist *and even sought to explain it by analogies.*

Thus ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM in his mystagogic catecheses expresses himself as clearly as possible. In describing the celebration of the mass, he says (5, 7): "After we have sanctified ourselves, we beseech the good God to send His Holy Spirit upon the elements that are offered, that He may make of the bread, the body of Christ, and of the wine, His blood; for whatever the Holy Ghost touches is thoroughly blessed and transformed (μεταβέβληται)." In another passage he speaks thus: "Since Christ Himself is careful to declare and say of the bread, 'This is my body,' who shall dare to doubt any longer? And since He Himself has affirmed and said, 'This is my blood,' who shall ever dream of saying that it is not His blood? Once, at Cana in Galilee, by the mere power of His will, He turned water into wine; is it incredible that He should turn wine into blood?" [28] And finally (4, 9): "Being fully taught and persuaded that what seems

[27] *De Orat.*, 6: "*corpus ejus in pane censetur,*" and *Adv. Marc.* I, 14: "*panem qui ipsum corpus suum repraesentat.*"

[28] *Catech.*, 4, 1 ff.

bread is not bread, though bread by taste, but the body of Christ; and what seems wine is not wine, though the taste will have it so, but the blood of Christ, strengthen thy heart by receiving it as a spiritual gift." This is as plain as it possibly can be; yet for our Protestant writers on the history of dogma, who are under the influence of STEITZ, it is not clear enough. HARNACK *e. g.* says:[29] "It would be a great mistake to make the theologian responsible for what the catechist says. Such exaggerations at that time belonged to the domain of liturgy and catechetics, not of theology." LOOFS (p. 53) remarks that, according to Cyril, the elements are changed only in so far as they are *sanctified,* and adds: "It is wrong, therefore, to trace the beginning of the theory of transubstantiation to the works of Cyril." RÜCKERT, who wrote earlier than STEITZ, remarks that there are indications in the writings of Cyril "of a theory of transubstantiation, not fully developed it is true, yet clearly outlined and very near to the doctrine of conversion."[30] We may let this pass. BATIFFOL, too, cannot bring himself to believe that Cyril had a clear idea of the annihilation of the substance of the bread (p. 211).

7. ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM is likewise clear in his testimony to the doctrine of transubstantiation. "We [priests]," he writes, "take the place of servants; but it is [Christ] Himself who blesses and transforms (*ὁ δὲ ἁγιάζων αὐτὰ καὶ μετασκευάζων αὐτός*)."[31] And further on: "This is my body, He said. This word changes that which lies here (*τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα μεταῤῥυθμίζει τὰ προκείμενα*)."[32] Although he spoke of the Eucharist often and at length, yet he never attempted to explain this point.[33] This was done by GREGORY OF NYSSA,

[29] *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, II, 4th ed. 460.

[30] *Das Abendmahl, sein Wesen and seine Geschichte* (1856), p. 420.

[31] *Hom. in Matt.*, 82, n. 5.

[32] *Hom. De Prodit, Judea,* 1, 6.

[33] There is one passage in Chrysostom in which it is claimed that the doctrine of transubstantiation in its

the most speculative among the Fathers of the East. In his large Catechesis he gives (c. 37) a long dissertation on the way in which the Holy Eucharist acts on the human body, and on the relation between the body of Christ and the nourishment taken during His life on earth. His theory is questionable in some details, but on the whole acceptable. He develops the following ideas:

To counteract the poison that has entered our bodies through sin, we need an antidote, which must permeate every part of the body. Such an antidote is the body of Christ, which has shown itself stronger than death. Therefore, it must be received as food, and this takes place in the Eucharist; for in the Eucharist bread and wine *are changed* (μεταποίησις) into the body and blood of the Lord, and our bodies are changed into the body of the Lord when we partake of them. *But how are we to conceive of this transformation wrought in the consecration?* Like all bodies, that of Christ during His earthly existence was sustained by food. The food, bread and wine, is changed into flesh; in power (δυνάμει)

proper sense is found. It is contained in the ninth homily *De Paenit.*, n. 2 (Montf. II, 350), a treatise the authenticity of which is doubtful. The words are: Μὴ ὅτι ἄρτος ἐστὶν ἴδῃς μηδ' ὅτι οἶνός ἐστι νομίσῃς· οὐ γὰρ ὡς αἱ λοιπαὶ βρώσεις εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα (*in secessum*) χωρεῖ. Ἄπαγε, μὴ τοῦτο νόει. Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ κηρὸς (*cera*) πυρὶ προσομιλήσας οὐδὲν ἀπουσιάζει (*nihil substantiae amittitur*), οὐδὲν περισσεύει (*nihil superest*), οὕτω καὶ ὧδε νόμιζε συναναλίσκεσθαι τὰ μυστήρια τῇ τοῦ σώματος οὐσία. Franzelin (*Tract. de SS. Euch.*, p. 102 n.) understands the last part of the text as if Chrysostom said that the substance of the bread and wine (τὰ μυστήρια) was entirely absorbed by the body of Christ, which would be transubstantiation, properly so called. Franzelin bases his interpretation on Bellarmine. Naegle (*Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Joh. Chrys.*, 1909, p. 92), has adopted this opinion. But it is false, for τὰ μυστήρια cannot here mean the substance of the unconsecrated bread and wine. The sense of the passage is rather that the Eucharist, when it is received, passes wholly into the substance of the human body. Batiffol gives this same explanation (p. 267). St. John Damascene expresses the same idea (*De Fide Orth.*, IV, 13): Σῶμά ἐστι καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, . . . οὐ φθειρόμενον, οὐκ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα χωροῦν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν οὐσίαν καὶ συντήρησιν.

or substance it is already the body, and is simply transformed into the body by digestion. Now the humanity of Christ was the abode of the Logos, and it was the Logos that transformed His food into the substance of His body. The Logos sanctified the body of Christ, which had its existence from bread and in a certain sense was bread. This is precisely what takes place on the altar. One " word of God " sanctifies the bread and transforms it into the body of Christ. This bread becomes the body of Christ not by means of eating through the power of the Logos, but immediately by a *logos* (word) of God, that is, by the formula of consecration.

It can easily be seen that this new theory is built upon the twofold activity of the Logos as developed by JUSTIN (above p. 5–6). BATIFFOL (p. 257) remarks that according to Gregory's exposition the Eucharistic bread is not changed into the already existing body of Christ, but into a new body of Christ, and that GREGORY assumes the creation of a new body of Christ from the bread by virtue of the words of consecration. I cannot accept this explanation. The *tertium comparationis* is, for Gregory, the real body of Christ, into which, while He walked upon earth, the food he ate was changed, and into which the bread is changed by consecration. The Protestant claim [34] that GREGORY *does not teach the transubstantiation* of bread in the Eucharist, *but a transformation, can be easily refuted.* He compares the process of assimilation by which bread becomes flesh and blood by nutrition, to that by which the bread becomes the body of Christ by consecration. Both processes are changes. The former is indeed a transformation, but the analogy does not force us to admit that the latter is also such. SCHWANE [35] de-

[34] STEITZ, X, 435 ff.; HARNACK, II, 4th ed., 462; LOOFS, p. 54.

[35] *Dogmengesch.*, II, 2nd ed., p. 781.

clares that the dogma of transubstantiation cannot be expressed *in clearer language* than that employed by Gregory of Nyssa in his analogy of the phenomena of nutrition. But this is not quite correct.

8. If anything, St. Ambrose has expressed himself with even more precision than the Greek Fathers of the fourth century on transubstantiation in his work *De Mysteriis*. He is the first to employ the expression "to change the nature" (substance) in speaking of the Eucharist.[36] St. Ambrose recalls the miracles of the Old Law, such as the turning of the rod into a serpent by Moses and the miraculous gushing of the water from a rock in the desert, and proceeds: "If the blessing of a man was powerful enough to change nature, what shall we say of the divine blessing, in which the very words of our Saviour Himself operate? For that sacrament which you receive is produced by the words of Christ. If the prayer of Elias was able to draw fire from heaven, will not the prayer of Christ be able to change the nature of the elements (*species elementorum*)? You have read concerning the creation of the world (*Ps.* 148, 5), 'He spoke and it was, He commanded and it was made;' cannot the word of Christ, which could bring forth from nothing that which was not, change that which is into that which it was not? Is it a smaller matter to create new beings, than to change natures (*nonne*[37] *enim minus est novas rebus dare quam mutare naturas*)?" In another passage (*De Myst.*, 50), Ambrose says: "Perhaps you will say: I see something different; how can you explain to me that I receive the body of Christ? . . .

[36] Loofs (p. 61–62) does not believe that this treatise belongs to Ambrose, because a different conception of the Eucharist is found in *De fide*, IV, 10. Batiffol has ably refuted this objection (p. 289).

[37] This is a better reading than *non*, which is found in most manuscripts and editions. If the sentence is not interrogative, it has no meaning.

We wish to prove that it is not what nature made it, but that which the consecration has sanctified; that the power of consecration is greater than that of nature, because by the consecration even nature itself is changed (*quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur*)." Similar expressions are to be found in *De Sacramentis* (IV, 15 and VI, 3). The latter passage reads: "*Primo omnium dixi tibi de sermone Christi, qui operatur, ut possit mutare et convertere genera instituta naturae.*" The treatise *De Sacr.* is a fifth century work modeled on the *De Mysteriis* of AMBROSE.

9. The most prominent of the orthodox theologians of the fifth century was ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA. He considered the bread and wine so changed that they are preserved only "in appearance." "[Christ] wished," he says, "to unite Himself as it were, to our bodies, as a vivifying Eucharist, as it were in bread and wine (ὡς ἐν ἄρτῳ τε καὶ οἴνῳ)." This "as it were" must be given special attention, since in the words which follow, CYRIL seems to advocate a merely dynamic presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which opinion STEITZ (XII, 213 ff.) actually attributes to him. CYRIL continues: "Lest we might be shocked in seeing flesh and blood lying upon the altar, God gives to the bread and the wine there present the power of life, and changes it into the efficiency of His flesh (μεθίστησιν αὐτὰ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σαρκός), in order that we may partake of the life which it communicates and that the body of life be within us as a vivifying germ."[38]

We said above (p. 18) that the Fathers of the fourth century had a special fondness for calling bread and wine *images* or *symbols* of the body and blood of Christ. In the fifth century *these expressions were*

[38] Cf. STRUCKMANN, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Cyril von Alexandrien*, Paderborn, 1910, p. 117 ff.

regarded as misleading, and hence frowned upon; the writers of this period were careful to insist that a real change takes place in the Eucharist. The first to do this was THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, who writes: "He did not say, This is the symbol of my body, nor, This is the symbol of my blood, but, This is my body and my blood, in order to teach us that we are not to look to the nature of the thing before us but that it is changed by the thanksgiving pronounced upon it, into flesh and blood."[39] CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA uses even plainer language. "Pointing to the bread," he writes, "the Lord said, This is my body, and to the wine, This is my blood, *so that you may not falsely believe that what you see is but an image* (τύπον εἶναι τὰ φαινόμενα), but that you may firmly hold that the gifts offered are *truly changed into the flesh and blood* of Christ (μεταποιεῖσθαι εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀληθές). ST. JOHN DAMASCENE contends[40] that the ancient Fathers gave the name *symbols* (ἀντίτυπα) to the bread and wine only before consecration; but this is not correct.

The Greek and other Oriental liturgies of the mass, in the form in which we have them to-day, nearly all date back to the fifth century. The *epiclesis,* embodied in them all, contains a petition to the Holy Ghost to come and *change* the bread and wine. We are not told how this change was understood.[41]

10. The Eucharistic teaching of the Greek Church was definitively summarized and complemented by ST. JOHN DAMASCENE (*De Fide Orth.*, IV, 13). He protests against the idea that the Eucharistic bread is merely a symbol (τύπος) of the body of Christ, but says it is rather "the deified body of the Lord Him-

[39] *In Matth.*, 26, 27 (*P.G.*, LXVI, 713).

[40] *De Fide Orth.*, IV, 13 (*P.G.*, XCIV, 1152).

[41] For a list of these prayers, cfr. POHLE, *Lehrb. d. Dogm.*, III, 3rd ed., p. 237.

self." [42] According to his teaching, therefore, the bread is changed into the body of Christ, as born of the Virgin, that body which is now in heaven; not as if this body descended from heaven, but by the power of the Holy Ghost the Logos unites Himself with the bread and wine, and changes it into His body, just as He did when He took flesh from the Blessed Virgin. *But this body which He forms from the bread is not a new body,* any more than the bread which one eats forms a new body for man, but it is changed into the body already existing. After the consecration, therefore, there are " not two bodies of Christ, but one and the same." The body of bread is assumed into the real body of Christ and becomes identical with it.[43]

We can perceive the influence of GREGORY OF NYSSA in this line of thought; but JOHN DAMASCENE does not teach the curious theory of transformation which some attribute to GREGORY OF NYSSA (above p. 37–38). HARNACK and LOOFS[44] call Damascene's conception an *assumption theory;* but to my mind they are wrong when they declare it to mean a teaching essentially

[42] *Ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου τεθεωμένον* (*P.G.*, XCIV, 1148).

[43] The most striking passages of St. John Damascene on the Eucharist are the following: *Οὐκ ἔστι τύπος ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου τεθεωμένον* (*Migne l. c.*). *Συνέζευξε τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ὕδατι τὴν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ λουτρὸν ἀναγεννήσεως· οὕτως . . . συνέζευξεν αὐτοῖς* (bread and wine) *τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα καὶ πεποίηκεν αὐτὰ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα αὐτοῦ* (*ibid.* 1141). *Σῶμά ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ἡνώμενον θεότητι, τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου σῶμα, οὐχ ὅτι τὸ ἀναληφθὲν σῶμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατέρχεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος μεταποιοῦνται εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα θεοῦ. Εἰ δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιζητεῖς, πῶς γίνεται, ἀρκεῖ σοι ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐξ τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ κύριος σάρκα ὑπεστήσατο* (*ibid.* 1144). *Οὐ χείρον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὅτι, ὥσπερ φυσικῶς διὰ τῆς βρώσεως ὁ ἄρτος . . . εἰς σῶμα τοῦ ἐσθίοντος μεταβάλλεται καὶ οὐ γίνεται ἕτερον σῶμα παρὰ τὸ πρότερον αὐτοῦ σῶμα· οὕτως ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος . . . διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιεῖται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ εἰσι δύο, ἀλλ' ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτό* (*ibid.* 1145).

[44] HARNACK. *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, II, 4th ed. 466; LOOFS, *Realenzykl.*, I, p. 57, and *Leifaden d. Dogmengesch.* (1906), p. 329.

different from the doctrine of transubstantiation. HARNACK (*op. cit.*) understands transubstantiation to mean that "the body of Christ comes down suddenly from heaven and enters into the place of the elements." In matter of fact it may also signify an assumption and appropriation of the elements by the glorified body of Christ. The Thomists explain transubstantiation as a production, or rather reproduction (*reproductio*) of the body of Christ from the substance of the bread,[45] whereas the Scotists define it as an "adduction" (*adductio*).

The Greek Church clung to the Eucharistic teaching of its standard theologian, JOHN DAMASCENE, and at the œcumenical Council of Lyons, held in 1274, unhesitatingly subscribed to the transubstantiation doctrine of the Latin Church, a proof that this teaching was in no wise novel. LOOFS' contention (p. 57) that it is only since the time of JOHN OF DAMASCUS *that the Greek Church has a dogma of the Eucharist* (Real Presence and transubstantiation), is, *therefore, absolutely false.* On the contrary, it taught the Real Presence from the beginning. ORIGEN alone of the Greek Fathers is spiritualistic in his interpretation, and even he bears witness to the fact that the Church of his day did not share in his spiritualism. The doctrine of transubstantiation is found in the best-known Greek theologians of the fourth century, and has been the common property of the Greek Church ever since. From this we can conclude that, even earlier than this period, the Real Presence was understood in the sense of a substantial *change.* At least there is nothing to contradict this assumption.

In the West, we find the doctrine of a substantial change of the elements clearly taught by ST. AMBROSE

[45] "*Actio productiva seu reproductiva corporis Christi, non simpliciter, sed tali modo, scilicet ex pane.*"

and in the anonymous treatise *De Sacramentis.* Then, too, the Gallican and Mozarabic liturgies often speak of the transformation (*transformatio*) of the elements.[46] On the other hand, as ADAM rightly remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 111), ST. AUGUSTINE never discusses the question of the manner of Christ's presence.[47] It seems, however, that he excludes the idea of a permanent presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[48] The discussions of the Western Church *afford but few data for a deeper study of the mystery,* because they emphasize the sacrificial side of the Eucharist, that is, its relation to the sacrifice of the cross. Besides, the strong symbolic language of ST. AUGUSTINE had considerable effect on all Eucharistic study. It was only in the ninth century that the Eucharist became the subject of discussion in the Western Church, and this in

[46] Cfr. BATIFFOL, pp. 341, ff.

[47] ADAM claims that AUGUSTINE in *De Trin.*, III, 10, 21, denies transubstantiation, but this seems to me to be unjustified. ADAM (p. 107) is right, however, in criticizing SCHANZ (*Die Lehre des hl. Augustin über die Eucharistie,* p. 102 ff.) who tries to deduce the transubstantiation theory from the word "*fit*" in *Contra Faustum,* XX, 13: "*Noster autem panis et calix non quilibet (quasi propter Christum in spicis et in sarcinis ligatum, sicut illi desipiunt), sed certa consecratione mysticus fit nobis, non nascitur.*" The Manicheans claimed that their Jesus was *patibilis* in all products of the earth, hence present by nature already in the bread and wine; and hence that their conception of the Eucharist coincided with that of Catholics. As against this ST. AUGUSTINE remarks that that which was from the beginning contained (*nascitur*) in the nature of things, takes place (*fit*) by the words of consecration in the Catholic idea. Therefore nothing is said of a change at all. Cf. also *Tract. in Joan.*, 80, 3: "*Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum.*"

[48] AUGUSTINE recognizes a threefold presence of Christ: (1) "*secundum praesentiam majestatis,*" He is present everywhere; (2) "*secundum praesentiam carnis,*" He sits at the right hand of God the Father; (3) "*secundum praesentiam fidei,*" He is present in all Christians (*Tract. in Joan.*, 50, 13; *Sermon.*, 361, 7); he says nothing of a fourth, *i. e.*, the sacramental presence. In favor of a permanent presence of Christ in the sacrament seems to be the passage: "*habere Christum in praesenti per altaris cibum et potum*"; but here *Christ* means *the grace of Christ;* for in the very same place (*Tract. in Joan.*, 50, 12) we read: "*Habes Christum . . . in praesenti per fidem, in praesenti per signum, in praesenti per baptismatis sacramentum, in praesenti per altaris cibum et potum.*"

the controversy which centered around the person of Paschasius Radbertus (above, p. 27).

§ 3. The Institution of the Eucharist

Bibliography: —

Jülicher, *Zur Geschichte der Abendmahlsfeier in der ältesten Kirche* (*Theolog. Abhandlungen,* Weizsäcker *gewidmet,* Freiburg, 1892, pp. 215–250). Spitta, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Urchristentums,* Göttingen, 1893. Albert Schweitzer, *Das Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit dem Leben Jesu und der Geschichte des Urchristentums,* Tübingen, 1901. Axel Andersen, *Das Abendmahl in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christus* (*Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* 1902, 115–141 and 206–221; appeared also separately, 2nd ed., Giessen, 1906). Johann Hoffmann, *Das Abendmahl im Urchristentum,* Berlin, 1903. O. Holtzmann, *Das Abendmahl im Urchristentum* (*Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wissensch.,* 1904, 89–120). K. G. Goetz, *Die heutige Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung,* (Leipzig, 1904, 2nd ed., 1907).

1. *A Eucharistic repast in the Christian Church having no relation to the Last Supper of Jesus and without conscious institution on His part, is the latest achievement of liberal Protestant theology.*[1] The adherents of this assumption look upon the Biblical narratives of the Lord's Last Supper as the result of a long evolution, and reject as a later addition everything which does not fit in with their preconceived system. This view has won many disciples, and we cannot ignore it. Yet the various systems are so *fanciful,* so *unfounded in fact* and so *contradictory,* that they refute themselves and scarcely deserve criticism.

[1] A sporadic attempt to deny the institution by Christ of the Christian Eucharistic repast was made in earlier times by David Strauss. But his attempt was met by the unanimous opposition of even the theologians of the rationalistic school. Thus Weizsäcker (*Apostolic Age of the Christian Church,* 1894, p. 574) writes: "The celebration of the Lord's Supper rests on the prescription made by Jesus Himself. Every assumption of a growth of the same in the Christian community, due to the wish to have a memorial of the meal taken with Him, and the need of a remembrance of His death, must be utterly rejected." Beyschlag (*Theology of the N. T.,* p. 155, Vol. I) even styles the institution of the Last Supper, "the most certain of all institutions bequeathed to us by Jesus."

2. The more recent Protestant investigations anent the Last Supper start from the fundamental idea that too much stress was formerly placed on the *words* of institution, and too little on the *circumstances and actions* which surrounded them. The question now is not so much: "What do the words 'This is my body' signify?" as: "What is the meaning of the Last Supper?" or "Under what circumstances did Christ utter these words?" SCHWEITZER (p. 5) assembles all the studies made on the Last Supper up to his time (1901) under two heads. The first regards mainly "*the act of presentation,*" that is, the words of Jesus when presenting the bread and the chalice, whereas the second emphasizes the "*act of eating,*" that is, the meaning of the eating and drinking as evidenced by the character of the meal.

The nature of the Last Supper must be determined principally from the Biblical accounts. Hence the investigation is concerned with these first and foremost, not to say exclusively. Outside of the New Testament only the DIDACHE and the quotation of JUSTIN on the Last Supper (*Apol.* I, 65–67) deserve attention. Some writers, like JÜLICHER (*op. cit.*, p. 248), entirely disregard the second century. They endeavor to purify the original kernel of the Biblical narrative from all later accretions. The methods employed in this attempt are various. Many claim that the primitive conception was altered in the lifetime of the Apostles and that this change even affected the Biblical texts, causing mutilations and interpolations.

The Scriptural accounts of the Lord's Supper naturally fall into two groups, Matthew (26, 26–29) and *Mark* (14, 22–24) forming one, and *Luke* (22, 19–20) and *Paul* (1 *Cor.* 11, 23–26), the other. The second group alone records the words of institution: "Do this for a commemoration of me."

The critics disagree widely as to the authority to be assigned to the two groups. SPITTA, SCHWEITZER, and GOETZ hold that the first group (Matthew and Mark) is the more primitive. SPITTA especially cautions against over-rating the Pauline account, since Paul was not a disciple of Christ, had very little dealing with the Apostles, and wrote his first Epistle to the Corinthians fully twenty years after the celebration of the Lord's Supper. ANDERSEN and HOLTZMANN on the other hand, regard the Pauline account as the chief source. The latter says that Paul elsewhere lays special stress on eating and drinking the Eucharist, whereas in his account of the Last Supper, unlike the Synoptic narrative, he makes no mention of it at all (?). Hence he must have come into possession of a very ancient account of the Last Supper, which did not fit in with his own presentation. The Synoptic tradition, according to HOLTZMANN, represents a reconstruction of that ancient account. SCHWEITZER is firmly persuaded (p. 56 ff.) of the authenticity of the account in St. Mark and bases his whole hypothesis upon it.

The number of divergent interpretations that have been put upon St. Luke's narrative of the Lord's Supper is very great. In Codex D of the Gospel, and in a few manuscripts of the Itala version, the words: " which is given for you; do this for a commemoration of me; in like manner the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: this is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you " (*22*, 19–20) are wanting. WESTCOTT-HORT [2] and other critics regard this passage as spurious and have deleted it from the text. Of late, however, this view has been dis-

[2] *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, Cambridge and London, 1881, II, App., p. 63 f.

carded on all sides, and most authorities now accept the text as authentic.[3]

Whether Jesus ate the Last Supper on the 13th or 14th of Nisan, is a question long in dispute. The Synoptics positively make for the 14th; St. John apparently favors the 13th, as do also the newly discovered fragment of the Gospel of Peter,[4] Hippolytus, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and the Jewish Talmud.[5] The passage of St. Paul, "Christ our pasch is sacrificed" (1 *Cor.* 5, 7) may be interpreted as referring to the 13th.[6] The quartodeciman practice followed in the Church of Asia Minor positively presupposes the 13th. Nearly all present-day Protestant scholars assume that Jesus ate His farewell meal with His disciples on the 13th of Nisan, *and that, therefore, the original celebration of the Eucharist had no connection, either external or intrinsic, with the Jewish Pasch.*[7]

Were the breaking of the bread, the separate giving of His body and blood, and the words that accompanied these actions intended by Jesus *to prefigure His approaching death?* The affirmative is still maintained by most Protestant scholars. SPITTA and GOETZ alone reject it, appealing in support of their contention to the Eucharistic prayers of the DIDACHE, in which there is no reference to the passion of Christ. SPITTA (*op. cit.*, p. 210 ff.) contends that this idea was attached to the meal, and became incorporated into the Synoptic

[3] Cf. GOETZ, *op. cit.*, p. 118 f. and W. KOCH in the *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1905, p. 240 ff. SPITTA and ANDERSEN deny its authenticity.

[4] *Evangel. sec. Petrum*, II, 5 (Cf. RAUSCHEN, *Floril. Patrist.*, III, 48): καὶ παρέδωκεν (Pilate) αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων, τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν.

[5] *Toldot Jeschu*, ed. Wagenseil (according to RESCH, *Texte u. Unt.*, X, 3, 613), 18: "*erat autem haec lux et parascere paschatos et simul sabbati parascere.*"

[6] Cf. *Hippolyti fragm.* 13, 92 (ed. Lagarde): Εἰκότως τὸ μὲν δεῖπνον ἐδειπνησεν πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα, τὸ δὲ πάσχα οὐκ ἔφαγεν, ἀλλ' ἔπαθεν· οὐ δὲ γὰρ καιρὸς ἦν τῆς βρώσεως.

[7] The fullest discussion of this subject may be found in K. G. GOETZ, *Die heutige Abendmahlsfrage*, p. 124–139.

account at a later date through the influence of St. Paul. "Thus," says GOETZ (p. 178), "looking at the matter more closely, we find that the theory of a symbolic relation of the breaking of the bread to the sacrificial death of Christ, has very little foundation. The arguments adduced in its favor have missed the mark. The same is true of that other theory, that the presentation of the cup, or the cup itself, is symbolical of the expiatory death of Jesus." According to JÜLICHER, however, the predominant feature of the Last Supper was the symbolizing of our Lord's death.

It is also disputed *whether Jesus at the Last Supper was conscious of making a new institution,* and whether He commanded His disciples to repeat the meal. RÜCKERT denied any such intention on our Saviour's part in his work *"Das Abendmahl, sein Wesen und seine Geschichte,"* which appeared in 1856 and became the basis of all later research into the history and nature of the Last Supper. JÜLICHER, SPITTA, and A. SCHWEITZER have adopted RÜCKERT'S view and in support thereof appeal mainly to the fact that the words, "Do this for a commemoration of me," are not recorded in Matthew and Mark. Had Jesus been conscious of making an institution, says JÜLICHER (p. 238), these Evangelists could not have failed to record His command. SPITTA remarks (p. 287 f.) that Jesus, who left no code of any kind for the government of His followers, can hardly have thought of instituting a rite in the hour of parting.

Let us see how various Protestant scholars interpret the Lord's Supper.

3. JÜLICHER thinks that our Lord, in distributing the bread and wine among His disciples, *merely wished to symbolize His approaching death.* "In breaking the bread into pieces He contemplated the similar fate that was in store for His body, and, without calling

before His mind's eye any other profound analogies between His body and the bread, He was able, in view of the approaching κεκλασμένον, to say to His disciples: This is my body, the same treatment will soon be meted out to my body. . . . Jesus causes the chalice, with its contents of red wine mingled with water, to be passed around at His table. As this wine shall soon be drained, so shall my blood be poured out, for my death is certain; but, He adds consolingly, it shall not be shed in vain, but ὑπὲρ πολλῶν, and to seal a solemn compact." This last conception gave rise to the Eucharistic celebrations of the early Christians; they repeated the Lord's Supper in His memory and as a grateful memorial of His death, which had been instrumental in obtaining salvation for them.

Spitta takes the words, "This is my body," as meaning a purely spiritual assimilation of Christ. He holds that the real significance of the Last Supper lies in the words of *Matthew* 26, 29: "I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it with you new in the kingdom of my Father." *These words show, he says, the eschatological preoccupations of the Master,* and therefore furnish the key to the interpretation of His conduct. By distributing bread and wine among His disciples, the Lord *desired to point to the Messianic banquet, which was to come in the fulness of time,*— the future reunion of His disciples with Himself around the heavenly table; He was anticipating this banquet by giving Himself to His own as a food. In proof of his interpretation, Spitta points to the Eucharistic prayers of the Didache, which, he says, clearly echo eschatological hopes and ideas.

The eschatological interpretation of the Lord's Supper, as given by Spitta, was developed by A. Schweitzer. As was said above (p. 46), this author

finds the only authentic account of the Last Supper in the Gospel of St. Mark, which gives a prominent place to the eschatological idea. Uplifting His voice, Jesus, after the presentation of the bread and wine, solemnly announces: "Amen, I say to you, that I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new in the kingdom of God." (*Mark* 14, 25.) Hence, argues SCHWEITZER, it will not do to make the essence of the whole celebration consist exclusively in the last announcement of His coming death. "Jesus spoke to His disciples not merely of His death, *but of His death and their early reunion with Him at the feast in the new kingdom.*" (I, p. 61.) "The bread and wine which He gives in anticipation (of the heavenly feast) *are for Him His body and blood,* because He prepares the Messianic meal by surrendering Himself to death." (II, p. 107 f.) This meaning of the words, "This is my body, This is my blood," was not, however, understood by His disciples. Neither did Christ command a repetition of the celebration on earth. SCHWEITZER also assumes (II, p. 56 f.) that the feeding of the 5,000 was, like the Last Supper, a religious feast, the meaning of which *was clear to Him alone* "as the one who knows Himself to be the Messiah and wills now, on the immediate approach of the dawn of His reign, to be revealed to them as such, and solemnly distributes food to those by whom He expects to be surrounded at the Messianic feast, just as if He wished thereby to give them a right to participate in that future celebration."

4. AXEL ANDERSEN is even more radical than any of the Protestant theologians so far mentioned. In the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul blames the Corinthians because, when they came together, they did not wait for one another, and

instead of dividing the provisions among all, each one ate what he himself had brought. This, he tells them, is contempt of God's assembly and cannot be called "meal of the Lord" (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον). Now, argues ANDERSEN, *Paul often calls the congregation, or church, the body of the Lord.* This must, therefore, also be the meaning of the word "body" in the phrase, "This is my body," quoted by Paul in 1 *Cor.* 11, 24. This interpretation is confirmed by St. Paul's remark (V, 22) that they "who discern not the body of the Lord" despise the Church of God. Thus the failure of the members of a Christian community to wait for one another is the beginning (V, 20–22) and the end (V, 33–34) of Paul's instruction on the celebration of the Last Supper (1 *Cor.* 11, 20–34) and therefore, the whole theme of this instruction, that is, *the object of contempt,* must be the *congregation* (σῶμα = ἐκκλησία).

ANDERSEN continues: "The sequence of ideas is as follows: I cannot approve the conduct of the rich Corinthians, who 'eat' with the congregation, because in doing so, they despise the Church of God. It conflicts with the nature of the repast, which is above all a meal taken in common — the repast of the new covenant, in which through the bread which is the κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, one is united to the spiritual body, that is, to the Church of God, and through the cup, which is the κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, one participates in the new covenant. To eat privately is repugnant to the very nature of this meal. Therefore let each man prove himself, and judge himself and the body rightly, and then let him eat of the bread and drink of the chalice." When, however, our Lord adds: "This chalice is the new testament in my blood," the blood means His death on the cross, on which the new covenant is founded. As the Eucharistic bread symbolizes the people of God, so the blood symbolizes the

new covenant; both together, therefore, symbolize the people of the new covenant. The phrase τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (V, 24), which does not square with this conception, is rejected by ANDERSEN as a later interpolation. The τοῦτο ποιεῖτε (V, 24–25) he translates by "offer this," that is, bread and wine, which means, he says, "Eat this bread and drink this wine with thanksgiving in the assembly." Thus, in the opinion of ANDERSEN, the most minute analysis of the text of St. Paul reveals no trace of the doctrine of the real presence.

How are the *Synoptic* narratives of the Last Supper to be squared with this theory? ANDERSEN is convinced that they have been interpolated at a later date, to make them conform with 1 *Cor.*, 11.[8] He holds the three phrases, "This is my body which shall be delivered for you," "This is my blood which shall be shed for you," "With desire I have desired to eat this Pasch with you before I suffer," to be later additions to the text. He denies that the Apostle meant any reference to the Jewish Pasch, since the Lord died on the 14th of Nisan. Paul's own account of the Last Supper, he adds, contradicts the (primitive) Synoptic account, for he begins 1 *Cor.*, 11, 23, with Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου; the ἐγὼ γάρ indicating that others related the event differently.

The accounts of Paul and those of the primitive Synoptics are, therefore, in ANDERSEN'S judgment, contradictory. There were, he continues (p. 138), in the early ages of Christianity, *two essentially different forms of repast in the Christian assembly*, namely, the κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου of the Acts of the Apostles, in which there is no indication that the participants were obey-

[8] Recently the author goes even farther in the *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wissenschaft*, 1906, p. 172: "The Synoptic account marks a stage in the development of the Eucharistic doctrine which it did not reach until after the time of Justin."

ing a command of Christ, and in which no memorial of the death of the Lord can be found, and the *δεῖπνον κυριακόν*, of which Paul makes mention. The prayers of the Didache relate, according to ANDERSEN, only to the *κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου*. Both celebrations were in existence during the second century, the first as the Agapæ, the other as the Eucharist.

5. JOHANN HOFFMAN, a disciple of PFLEIDERER, believes that "he has come still nearer to the goal." He endeavors to prove that the ecclesiastical conception of the Eucharist, as well as the opinions of JÜLICHER and SPITTA, are all equally untenable, though each embodies an element of truth. "Finally," he says, "we shall thereby have learned so much and shall have come so near our goal, that the last decisive step towards it is well prepared, and can be taken with perfect safety." This last step we shall await with some misgiving, albeit with a feeling of relief that there is to be an end to this dreadful juggling.

HOFFMANN begins by criticising the text. He, too, is convinced that the Biblical accounts have been influenced by the dogma and worship of primitive Christianity, and must, therefore, be purified of accretions. Then follows a criticism of all his predecessors in the field, and finally the "positive part," *in which the promised goal is pointed out* (p. 85 ff.).

HOFFMANN distinguishes *four successive stages* in the development of the Eucharist. In the Synoptic Gospels, he says, the chief emphasis is to be placed on the word *πάντες* (*Matth.* 26, 27: *πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες*, *Mark* 14, 23: *καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες*). When presenting the bread Jesus said: "This is my body," but the cup He presented without uttering a word, except that all should drink of it. But "body," as every one knows, is the symbol of the congregation, and inasmuch as Jesus gave His disciples bread as His body, He formed

them into a *brotherhood* centering around His person. There was no allusion at all to His death. "Love-feasts" were held by the early Christians from the beginning. The *Acts of the Apostles* (2, 46) tell us that they came together in their houses for the breaking of bread. In this they followed the Jewish custom according to which not only the Sabbath meals, but even the daily meals took on a religious character from the blessing of the bread and wine which preceded and the thanksgiving which followed them. There was no intention, originally, of repeating the farewell meal of our Lord, still the idea was obvious and could not fail to be developed.

The history of the Eucharist, continues HOFFMANN, *reached its second stage, when Christians began to place the Eucharist in relation to the death of Jesus,* of which it became the symbolical announcement. The "Lord's Supper" clearly was the last meal taken by Jesus before His death, in fact it was His farewell meal. Hence His followers now began to emphasize the breaking of the bread, which they regarded as prefiguring the breaking of His body in death, and the pouring out of the wine, which they considered as a symbol of the shedding of His blood. The daily religious meals now also received this interpretation, and at each repast, the farewell supper of Jesus, together with the manner in which He announced His death, was recalled. Perhaps there was a reading from the narratives of the Last Supper. But such remembrance was rather a pious custom than a duty performed with full consciousness.

A third stage in the development of the Eucharist was that *the person of Christ became the central figure.* His death was looked upon as an expiatory sacrifice, and He Himself regarded as the sinless servant of God, whose suffering Isaias had foretold. In other words

the Christology of Paul and John began to appear. Then only did it occur to the community that the Lord in His last meal furnished the prototype of a sacred banquet which was to be often renewed, and that He commanded His disciples to renew it. Thus the "love-feast" became a memorial of the expiatory death of Jesus, decreed by Him, and took on "a religious and in part sacramental character."

This development took place *before Paul arrived on the scene.* Paul adopted the belief of the primitive community, but laid its foundations deeper. He conceived the death of Jesus as a sacrificial offering and as the source of justification for all men. With this idea in view, he inserted the phrase τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν in the narrative of the Last Supper, and the Synoptic accounts were modified in accordance therewith. *But Paul went a step further.* The certainty of being reconciled to God through the expiatory death of Jesus was now objectivized by putting those who partake of the meal in direct contact with the Lord, in whose merits they participate. In other words, they were said to receive His very body and blood. This idea Paul borrowed from the world of Hellenistic speculation, more particularly from its mystery cult. A simple memorial and thanksgiving service appeared too empty and insignificant to the Hellenistic Christians. They wished to enter into close communion with the very life of the divinity, in order to share its immortality. It was thus that, according to HOFFMANN, the Christian supper was changed into a sacrament of ancient mysteries. Thus, through St. Paul, the ecclesiastical doctrine of the real eating of the body and the real drinking of the blood of Christ attained its almost complete development and found clear expression in the Gospel of John (c. 6). "John expressly states that the flesh and blood of Christ was eaten and drunk really, not figuratively,

whence it follows that these are real and objective things and not a mere figurative expression; they are real, not symbolic food." [9]

6. HOLTZMANN starts from the oldest name given to the celebration of the Eucharist, *"the breaking of bread."* He argues as follows:

Jesus could not have meant an ordinary breaking of bread when He said to His disciples, "This is my body," for later on they repeatedly recognized Him by the way He did it. The broken bread was a symbol of His passion and death. The incident of the chalice in 1 *Cor.* 11, 25 follows after the repast ("after He had supped"); and in putting the Scriptural accounts of both acts on a parallel, "the later historian allowed his historic sense to be dulled by liturgical considerations, chief among them the desire to have the Lord's Supper appear as one single and complete action from the beginning." In matter of fact the two acts, originally distinct, were combined into one by the Christian community. In *Luke* 22, 20 there is no connection between *"the pouring out of the chalice"* and the blood of Christ (*τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον . . . τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον*); which shows, according to HOLTZMANN, that there existed an older ritual of the Last Supper, which soon disappeared. It consisted in this, that at the celebration of the meal a chalice *was emptied.* Even St. Mark is familiar with this practice, since he speaks (14, 24) of the shedding of the blood of the testament. By the solemn emptying of the chalice, Jesus wished to ratify before His death the long promised covenant between God and His disciples.

"In order to have a lasting memorial of their fellow-

[9] HOFFMANN, p. 198. DIETRICH (*Eine Mithrasliturgie,* 1903, p. 106) speaks in similar language: "I maintain that according to Paul and John the presence of Christ is real; this interpretation of mine is by no means new, it is the oldest of all, and I am not concerned with those who distort it for dogmatic reasons."

ship, the disciples were always to break bread in the same solemn manner in which it had just been broken before them" (p. 103), *and were also to empty a chalice.* This latter rite, however, was not to be a repetition of His own act of ratification of the covenant. "Jesus rather had in mind the well-known Jewish and pagan custom of pouring out a cup for the dead; this His disciples will do for Him as often as they drink" (p. 104). This is the meaning of the command given to them by Jesus, "to show His death until He come" (1 *Cor.* 11,·26).

Jesus therefore had no intention of making the chalice a part of the divine liturgy, but merely wished to see it observed as a ceremony at home and in private. He gave a special blessing to the ordinary daily meal. Paul (1 *Cor.* 10) first drew a parallel between the Lord's Supper and the pagan sacrificial feasts by which man was supposed to enter into communion with the Godhead, and thus inaugurated the development of the Lord's Supper from an ordinary private meal into a public act of strictly divine worship. This idea crops out in Paul when he speaks of the misfortune of an unworthy communion and when he demands a proving of one's self before eating of the Eucharist. The Gospel of St. John (c. 6) objects to this crude view (p. 106–112).

7. K. G. Goetz has recently given us a treatise entitled *"Die Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung,"* which is by far the most *detailed, the most sober,* and *the most interesting* study that has yet appeared on this question on the Protestant side. Two hundred of the three hundred pages of this book are devoted to the problem in its latest stages —*"Die Abendmahlsfrage in der neuesten Zeit."* It is not easy to get at the author's own position in regard to the earliest development of the Lord's Supper, because of

the mass of material accumulated, and also because of his frequent critical remarks on the opinions of others. The gist of his work is as follows:

"We shall have to take the expression 'flesh and blood' in the original words of institution of the Last Supper, absolutely as signifying that Jesus in employing them meant His *human nature,* His thinking, willing, feeling, speaking, working self, the self that the disciples in their intercourse with Him were familiar with, and which they revered as the revelation of God. . . . *In comparing His human nature to food and drink,* such as He had just given to His disciples, His only purpose could have been to make it clear to them that His human nature had the same meaning for their religious or community life as food and drink had for their material life. . . . What He probably meant to say was that the disciples should adhere to His humanity for their community life, and draw from it, as it were, their spiritual nourishment, and at the same time religious comfort and refreshment for their souls, thus finding in Him life and full contentment" (p. 269 f.).

According to GOETZ, the traces of this primitive and symbolic Lord's Supper are for the most part found *in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark; though even these have been touched up to conform to the sacrificial idea.* However, even in their present form there is wanting in both Matthew and Mark any clearly defined expression of the idea of sacrifice, and in the formula of the chalice the clumsy method by which they have been inserted into the text even now reveals the interpolations (pp. 275 f.; 193–195).

The alleged later transformation of the original idea of the Last Supper is described by GOETZ as follows: "The Christians of the early days probably adhered to the original view of the simple allegory

embodied in the action of Jesus, but at the same time looked upon this action as a sort of *memorial offering* of food and drink, a conception which readily suggested itself to them from the Jewish custom of attributing a sacrificial character to all common meals. Paul, employing rabbinical methods of interpretation, invested this originally allegorical action with a new meaning, both figuratively and materially, and taught that the bread blessed for all is an actual representation of the communion of the body of Christ, or of the community, *i. e.,* incorporation with Christ, and that the cup is a realization of fellowship in the blood of Christ, or of the new testament in His blood. . . . Thus it happened that Luke, in his Gospel, closely followed the interpretation of Paul in regard to the Last Supper and merely rearranged it in some slight details to suit the taste of his Gentile Christian readers, and that, eventually, the narratives of Matthew and Mark, which had originally embodied the primitive account, were likewise recast in accordance with the Pauline interpretation. This could only have taken place after the Lord's Supper had been reduced to the simple Eucharist and prompted an abbreviation and alteration in the text of the first two Evangelists. It was probably also *due to the influence of Paul that Luke described the Last Supper as a Paschal meal,* a conception which crept into the text of the other two Synoptics, perhaps through the instrumentality of a later redaction. The Johannean Gospel, the Didache, and the utterances of the earliest Fathers concerning the Pasch and the Last Supper teach us, nevertheless, that, until the middle of the second century, the original mind of Jesus as manifested at the Last Supper, remained predominant, though mostly in a somewhat altered allegoric or mystical form" (pp. 209 f.).

8. All these assertions are so many *airy imagin-*

ings, which have no foundation in Holy Writ, but can only be supported by a mutilation of the text and an arbitrary interpretation of the narrative of the institution of the Holy Eucharist. The originators of these various theories themselves admit that *the scientific upshot of all modern researches on the question of the Last Supper is very small indeed.* They contradict one another on fundamental points, and claim for their respective views only a lesser or greater degree of probability. The majority and the most prominent of Protestant critics do not even admit this much. Hence BATIFFOL is quite right when he says, speaking of this extravagant theorizing: "Curieux spécimen du pur irréalisme où se joue la virtuosité de certains exégètes! Ils construisent indéfiniment, éperdument, sans matériaux. L'histoire a des méthodes plus terre à terre." [10]

It is not our purpose to refute these various theories. They all start out with the idea that the doctrine of the Eucharist, as taught by the Church, is entirely different from that which Christ intended and foresaw. SPITTA, HOFFMANN, and several others will not even admit that Jesus at the Last Supper foresaw and predicted His violent death. *Just a few critical observations may find place here.*[11]

The four accounts contained in Holy Scripture one and all afford us a uniform picture of the Last Supper, and contain nothing intrinsically impossible. In three of them, the presentation of the Eucharistic bread and wine is described in connection with our Lord's celebration of the Pasch. This detail is wanting in the

[10] *Études d'Histoire,* II, 3rd ed., p. 77.

[11] A detailed statement and refutation of these theories may be found in the splendid work of BERNING, *Die Einsetzung der heiligen Eucharistie in ihrer ursprünglichen Form, nach den Berichten des Neuen Testamentes kritisch untersucht,* Münster, 1901. Cf. also WILH. KOCH, "*Die neutestamentlichen Abendmahlsberichte und die neueste Abendmahlsforschung*" (*Theol. Quartalschr.,* Tübingen, 1905, 230–257).

Pauline account, but the omission may be easily explained by the fact that St. Paul does not give the whole story of the Last Supper, but confines himself to the Eucharistic part. Besides, he distinctly states that the chalice was presented by Jesus "after he had supped (μετὰ το δειπνῆσαι)." All of the narratives contain a reference to the death of Jesus and a future meal in the kingdom of heaven, though Paul merely adverts to it by the phrase "until he come" (ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ. 1 *Cor.* 11, 26.) We do not find the imperatives "eat, drink" in the Gospel of St. Mark, but instead of "eat," we find "take," while "drink" is supplanted by the phrase: "They all drink of it." Matthew and Mark fail to mention the command: "Do this for a commemoration of me," but this does not prove that the words were not uttered by Jesus, although it is rather remarkable that the first two Evangelists omit them.

The wantonness with which modern writers on the Last Supper alter and twist the Biblical texts, is truly amazing. SPITTA makes Mark his starting point, but immediately rejects 14, 12–16, where the Evangelist describes the preparation made for the Paschal banquet. Then he proceeds to expunge from the words of institution, as contained in this Gospel, all that refers to the sacrificial death of Christ, on the plea that it is borrowed from Paul. HOLTZMANN denies that the first two Synoptists drew from Paul. According to Matthew and Mark, he says, the Lord merely speaks of the "blood of the testament," which must mean the out-poured wine, as symbolic of the Old Testament idea of "the bloody covenant." Paul is the first to refer the words of our Lord to *His* blood and the first to make both the bread and wine symbols of His death. ANDERSEN goes even further. He rejects the Pauline phrase "which shall be delivered for you" (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν

1 *Cor.* 11, 24). SCHWEITZER asserts that the disciples did not understand our Lord's action at the Last Supper, and asserts that it remained unintelligible ever after. Are we to understand that he (SCHWEITZER) is the first man to understand it rightly? Who does not recall the words of HEGEL: "Only one of my disciples has understood me, and he has misunderstood me."

ANDERSEN interprets "the body" (σῶμα) in the words of institution as the Christian community, which is often called the body of Christ by Paul. But, how, in this hypothesis, are we to understand the phrase, "not discerning the body [of the Lord]" (μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα, 1 *Cor.* 11, 29)? And what meaning must be attached to "the blood" (τὸ αἷμα) in the chalice? ANDERSEN says it means the new testament, and refers us to 1 *Cor.* 11, 25: "This chalice is the new testament in my blood." According to ANDERSEN, therefore, the phrase, "he is guilty of the body and of the blood of the Lord" means nothing more than, "he sins against the congregation and the new testament." But this interpretation is repugnant to 1 *Cor.* 10, 16 ff., where "the partaking of the body and blood of Christ" is compared to participation in the sacrificial feasts of the pagans, and hence must be understood as referring to the reception of a visible gift.

§ 4. True Nature of the Sacrifice of the Mass

The sacrificial concept underlying the mass was for the first time thoroughly discussed by the *Council of Trent,* and since then has formed one of the principal subjects of theological controversy. Quite recently the question was once more brought to the fore by RENZ and WIELAND.

1. FRANZ RENZ, formerly a seminary inspector at Dillingen, Bavaria, now professor at Breslau, wrote a

voluminous work (about 1300 pages) entitled, "*Die Geschichte des Messopferbegriffs oder der alte Glaube und die neuen Theorien über das Wesen des unblutigen Opfers.*" [1] This book met with much approval.[2] RENZ collates all the available material bearing on the subject and thoroughly discusses each individual text from all points of view. He discusses even questions which are but remotely connected with his subject. In general, the work is much too diffuse, fails to bring out the fundamental idea of the authors whose systems it discusses, and repeats the same ideas in different form many times over. Of course, there is no need of adopting all of the author's theses. Not a few of his conclusions are hastily drawn, and the arguments by which he supports them are not as convincing as he claims. Yet despite these defects, it must be said that the book as a whole is deserving of the favorable reception accorded it.

2. *The Council of Trent* declares (*Sess.* 22, 1) that Christ at the Last Supper offered up (*obtulit*) to God His flesh and blood, in order to represent (*repraesentaretur*) for all time His bloody sacrifice, and thus to make the memory (*memoria*) of it endure to the end of the world, and to apply His salutary power to the forgiveness of the sins that we commit daily. The holy sacrifice of the mass, accordingly, is *a representation or renewal* [3] *of the sacrifice of the cross.* Christ is present on the altar under the separate species of bread and wine, and thereby represents the sacrifice of

[1] History of the Concept of the Sacrifice of the Mass, or the Ancient Faith and the New Theories on the Nature of the Unbloody Sacrifice. Published by the author in two volumes, Freising, 1901 and 1902.

[2] Notably by A. JOHANNES in the *Theol. Revue*, 1902, p. 244 ff.; by Prof. SCHNITZER in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, 1904, Vol. 133, p. 795 ff.; and by P. LEYENDECKER in the *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden*, 1904, 858 ff.

[3] The Roman Catechism repeatedly uses the term "renewal" (*instaurare*).

the cross, in which His blood was likewise separated from His body. There also, as on the cross, He offers His body and blood to His heavenly Father as a sacrifice (*offert*), that the fruits thereof may be applied to us. Hence the sacrifice of the mass is not "a mere commemoration," but it really has the power of wiping out sins.[4]

This Tridentine idea of sacrifice is upheld by RENZ. "The real and true sacrifice of Christ," he writes, "is the shedding of His blood. There is no other, either before or after, that is true and real; and whenever, after the death of Christ, there is mention of an offering of Himself on the part of our Lord, this offering cannot be real, but merely a representation of the actual sacrifice [of the cross]. . . . The unbloody sacrification consists in exhibiting *a figure of the bloody sacrifice*" (II, 484). This "figure," Renz explains (p. 485) as follows: "In the Old Testament figure (the Paschal lamb) there appeared a symbol of Christ in the *real shedding of blood,* but in the figure of the New Testament the real Christ appears in a *symbolic effusion of blood.* Precisely because of the real presence of the [divine] body and blood, the New Testament figure, or representation of the bloody sacrifice, is called a real and true sacrifice."

3. In the first volume of his work, RENZ shows that throughout Christian antiquity and the Middle Ages there was no other concept of the Mass. In his second volume, he shows, in opposition to the recently proposed sacrificial theories of certain other Catholic theologians, that this is the only one that can safely be held even to-day. Some Protestant theologians were willing to admit the sacrificial character of the Eucha-

[4] Sess. 22, can. 3: "*Si quis dixerit missae sacrificium tantum esse . . . nudam commemorationem sacrificii in cruce peracti, non autem propitiatorium . . . anathema sit.*"

rist in so far as the bread and wine are symbols of the shedding of Christ's blood upon the cross, and as such keep alive in us a grateful remembrance of the cross of Christ and promote devotion to the Redeemer on the part of the Christian populace. They had in mind a *subjective sacrifice,* the offering which the faithful make of themselves at the celebration of the Last Supper. Reacting against this interpretation, the majority of Catholic theologians, anxious to uphold the objective character of the Eucharistic sacrifice, went further than was customary before the Council of Trent. They argued that there must take place *a real destruction* (*destructio*), or at least *a change of state* (*immutatio*) in the sacrifice of the Mass. The merely symbolic immolation of Christ, as formerly taught, no longer seemed sufficient.

These ideas were already discussed at the Council of Trent, but at that time produced very little impression. Later on, however, they spread and gave rise to different theories. Some found the destruction or change which they held to be necessary in the annihilation of the substances of bread and wine (SUAREZ); others, in the cessation of the Eucharistic life of Jesus at communion (BELLARMINE). The untenableness of these theories led other theologians to explain the matter in this wise: The will to sacrifice Himself, which Christ carried out on the cross, is renewed on the altar, whilst He renews His bloody sacrifice by the separation of the species. THALHOFER, who is the chief defender of this last mentioned theory, claims that Christ continues to carry out His desire to be sacrificed, by holding up to His heavenly Father, as it were, the wounds He has received for our sake. At the moment of consecration, "the heavenly High Priest, with His heavenly sacrifice, descends and in the earthly circumstances of time and place and on the altar performs es-

sentially the same sacrifice which He once accomplished on the cross. It is only in connection with the (to us) invisible sacrifice which Christ makes at the consecration, that the separation of the species receives its full significance." [5] SIMAR [6] adopted the opinion of THALHOFER, but it is far from being accepted by all theologians. POHLE [7] objects that the existence of a heavenly sacrifice of Christ is extremely doubtful, and if there be no heavenly sacrifice the whole theory falls to pieces. RENZ remarks (II, p. 408) that THALHOFER assumes a *repetition* of the sacrifice of the cross, at least in will, on the altar, whereas the Council of Trent speaks only of a representation.

DE LUGO is the author of another theory. He finds the destruction of the victim in the sacrifice of the mass to consist in this, that Christ humbles Himself in a new manner by voluntarily entering into the sacramental species, and abandoning Himself, after the manner of inanimate objects, to the pleasure of men, and making Himself their food. CARDINAL FRANZELIN adds the idea that Christ in the Eucharist renounces the use of His sensitive faculties, especially of His senses. STENTRUP adopted this theory. POHLE admits that it contains "many true and useful ideas," but says it does not bring out sufficiently the essential character of the twofold change. He holds that the essence of the Eucharistic sacrifice consists in the mystical immolation of Christ and the preparation of the slain victim for a sacrificial meal, whereby the immolation is continued and completed.

RENZ maintains that *all these theories* exaggerate the notion of sacrifice; he opposes to them the ancient traditional concept of the sacrifice of the mass as the

[5] *Das Opfer des Alten und Neuen Bundes* (1870), p. 261 f.
[6] *Lehrb. d. Dogmatik*, § 155.
[7] *Lehrb. d. Dogmatik*, III, 3rd ed., p. 360 f.

only correct one. In this he is in full agreement with such eminent modern theologians as OSWALD, SCHEEBEN, SCHWANE, GIHR, and SCHANZ.

4. RENZ *has been accused of finding the essence of the sacrifice of the mass in communion rather than in the twofold consecration.*[8] That such is his theory, cannot be denied, although in some passages he regards both acts as equally essential. Thus he explains the words, "Do this for a commemoration of me," in this wise (I, 131): "When the ministers appointed by Christ imitate the act which He performed, that is to say, *the whole meal with all its parts,— the preparation and eating*—as often, as they 'do this,' they represent the sacrificial death of Jesus." Further on (I, 138) he insists "that the essential feature in the offering of the sacrifice is the *preparation together with the eating of the body and drinking of the blood.*" But in another passage (II, 500) he tells us: "It should not be said that the Eucharistic rite is the unbloody sacrifice of Christ and that it is terminated by a meal. We must rather say that the Eucharistic worship *is essentially a meal* which possesses a sacrificial character." Placing these various passages side by side we see that, according to RENZ's idea, the consecration itself is but part of the Eucharistic meal, namely a preparation for the sacrificial repast. I do not intend to dispute this point, but I must enter a *protest* when RENZ (II, 486) claims that "*neither the Fathers nor the Schoolmen* placed the symbolic sacrificial act in the act of consecration, but in the eating of the body and drinking of the blood, especially the latter." RENZ thinks he has discovered such a conception in the writings of SS. JUSTIN, IRENÆUS, and CYPRIAN, but he is *very much mistaken.*

[8] LEYENDECKER *v. g.* makes this charge in the *Studien u. Mitteil. a. d. Benediktinerorden*, 1904, p. 862.

RENZ claims (I, 154) that JUSTIN regarded *the eating and drinking of the Eucharistic bread and wine* as an act recalling the passion of Jesus, and that he held the celebration of the Eucharist to be a sacrifice "in so far as the bloody sacrifice of Christ is represented by the reception of the sacrament." On what is this interpretation founded? On a single passage of JUSTIN'S Dialogues (117), where the Eucharist is called "a remembrance of solid and liquid food." In this and other similar passages JUSTIN shows that the Christian worship is essentially a thanksgiving service, in which the Christians give thanks to God for the food provided for them (of which food the bread and wine are the representation), as also for the passion of Christ. He does not assert that the sacrifice of the Christians is properly a meal. In another place (*Dial.*, 41) JUSTIN remarks that Christ taught us to prepare (ποιεῖν) the Eucharistic bread in remembrance of His passion, saying plainly that the preparation for the Eucharist — *i. e.*, the consecration — is a remembrance of the passion of Christ and therefore the essential part of the sacrifice.

Of ST. IRENÆUS, RENZ remarks (I, 191 f.): "It is perfectly clear that the *act by which the Eucharist is effected*, or the act in which the elements are changed, cannot be the act of oblation; . . . *the concept of sacrifice, according to St. Irenæus, clearly excludes the notion that the act of consecration is the sacrificial act.*" *But Irenæus affirms just the reverse in Adv. Haer.*, IV, 17, 5: "Jesus took that bread, which is created, and *gave thanks*, saying, 'This is my body.' And the cup likewise, which is part of that creation to which we belong, He declared to be His blood. And so He taught us the new oblation of the new covenant, which the Church received from the Apostles and offers to God throughout the whole world,— to Him

who gives us the means of subsistence, the first-fruits of His gifts." And further on he writes (IV, 18, 4): "It behooves us to make an oblation to God. . . . And the Church alone offers this as a pure oblation to the Creator, offering it up to Him, with the giving of thanks, as a thing taken from His creation." *There is no question here of a meal.* In fact that idea is positively excluded. There is question rather of a *gift,* which we *offer to God* from among created things, *by way of thanksgiving,* and it is stated in so many words that this is the sacrifice that Christ offered at the Last Supper and which He wishes us to offer.

In regard to CYPRIAN, RENZ, as it appears to me, has erred even more seriously. CYPRIAN too, he thinks (I, 224), places the sacrificial act in the drinking of the chalice; the bread and wine bear the name of sacrifice not because of the *sanctification;* while the act of consecration is essential for the celebration of the sacrifice, it is not the sacrificial act itself (I, 220). How can such statements as these be made? The very opposite is taught in the Epistle which FIRMILIAN wrote to ST. CYPRIAN, and which RENZ interprets in accordance with his own theory. In this letter there is question of a woman possessed by the devil, who dared "*to pretend that with an invocation not to be contemned she sanctified bread and celebrated* (*facere*) *the Eucharist, and offered sacrifice to the Lord,* not without the sacrament of the accustomed prayers." [9] The blessing of the bread and the consecration of the Eucharist are here identified with the offering of the sacrifice. CYPRIAN (*Ep.,* 63, 9) admits this himself: "Whence it is clear that the blood of Christ is not offered if there be no wine in the cup, *nor the Lord's sacrifice*

[9] "*Ut invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet et sacrificium domini non sine sacramento solitae praedicationis offerret.*" (CYPR., *Ep.,* 75, 10).

celebrated with a legitimate consecration,[10] unless our oblation and sacrifice correspond to His passion." Hence, in CYPRIAN's mind, sacrifice (*sacrificium*) and consecration (*sanctificatio*) mean the same thing. How then can RENZ write (I, 228): "With CYPRIAN, *sanctificare* has not the meaning of *to offer sacrifice*"? In another passage, CYPRIAN says (*Ep.*, 63, 13): "Thus in *the sanctification of the cup, water alone cannot be offered,*[11] nor wine alone." Hence CYPRIAN does not place the essence of the sacrifice of the Mass in *the drinking of the chalice.* RENZ appeals to *Ep.*, 63, 3, where Noë's drinking of wine is called a figure of the passion of Christ. But no special emphasis is to be laid on *the act of drinking,* for CYPRIAN applies all references to wine in the Old Testament to the passion of Christ; thus, for instance, the fact that Melchisedech offered (*obtulit*) wine (n. 4) and the fact (n. 6) that according to the prophecy of Jacob, Juda was to wash his garments in wine.

We have seen that neither JUSTIN, nor IRENÆUS, nor CYPRIAN identify the sacrificial act of the Eucharist with the partaking of the sacred banquet. The other ante-Nicene writers are entirely silent on this point, whence we may infer that they held the sacrifice to consist in the blessing or consecration of the elements of the Eucharist, rather than in communion. ST. AUGUSTINE also makes a distinction between the "*reception*" and the "*offering.*"[12] RENZ appeals particularly (I, 301) to a celebrated passage in the writings of GREGORY THE GREAT (*Dial:*, IV, 58–59). "In this mystery of the holy sacrifice," says ST. GREGORY, "*He* [*Christ*] *is immolated for us anew;*

[10] "*Nec sacrificium dominicum legitima sanctificatione celebrari.*"

[11] "*Sic autem in sanctificando calice domini offerri aqua sola non potest.*"

[12] *Contra Faustum,* XXII, 18: "*Peracti ejusdem sacrificii memoriam celebrant sacrosancta oblatione et participatione corporis et sanguinis Christi.*"

for here His body is eaten, His flesh apportioned for the salvation of the people, His blood no longer poured out by infidel hands, but poured into the mouths of the faithful." According to him, therefore, the mystical immolation of Christ is the participation in the Eucharist. But immediately after, GREGORY describes the moment of consecration as constituting the sacrifice (a fact that RENZ has failed to notice), for he continues: "Therefore let us bear in mind what sort of a sacrifice this is for us, that imitates the passion of the only begotten Son for our redemption. Who, indeed, among the faithful would doubt that *at the very moment of the immolation, at the voice of the priest,* the heavens open wide?" etc. . . .[13] The consecration at mass must be meant here, as is clear from the phrase "at the voice of the priest." Thus the words of GREGORY must be understood as merely confirming the reality of the presence of Christ, not as emphasizing the sacrificial act.[14] RENZ *errs,* therefore, when he claims (II, 486) that in the Patristic era the sacrificial act was held to consist, not in the consecration, but in the eating of the body and blood of our Lord.

5. According to RENZ (*Introd.,* p. 1) the sacrificial character of the Eucharist is purely "a traditional truth of faith" which cannot be demonstrated from Scripture. "Scripture," he writes (I, 141), "affords no evidence with regard to a 'sacrifice' of Christ, or of His body and blood, in the celebration of the Eucharist; — and this is quite natural, since the con-

[13] The whole passage reads: "*Pro nobis iterum in hoc mysterio sacrae oblationis immolatur; eius quippe ibi corpus sumitur, eius caro in populi salutem partitur, eius sanguis non iam in manus infidelium, sed in ora fidelium funditur. Hinc ergo pensemus, quale sit pro nobis hoc sacrificium, quod pro absolutione nostra passionem unigeniti filii semper imitatur. Quis enim fidelium habere dubium possit, in ipsa immolationis hora ad sacerdotis vocem caelos aperiri etc?*"

[14] Thus LUCKMANN, in the *Literarische Anzeiger,* Graz, 1909, No. 12.

temporaries of the Evangelists and Apostles understood *'oblatio'* exclusively as the direct sacrification of a living being by putting it to death, whereas Christ could die but once." In consonance with this theory, Renz *seeks to put a different interpretation on all those Scriptural passages which are generally referred to the sacrifice of the mass.* Thus in regard to Melchisedech, Holy Writ does not say that he offered bread and wine (*Heb. hozi,* LXX ἐξήνεγκεν, Lat. *proferens: Gen.* 14, 18). *Ps.* 109, 4, Christ is called "a priest forever, according to the order of Melchisedech," but His bloody sacrifice alone is alluded to (I, 47, 91). In the words of Malachias (I, 10), "I have no pleasure in you," etc.; it is impossible to determine the nature of the pure "oblation" (*minchah*) which shall be offered to God in the future (I, 94 f.). At most it is a sacred feast offered to God by the community, similar to the Old Testament loaves of proposition. Renz declares (I, 120 ff.) that *the present participles in the words of institution* (διδόμενον, "which is given for you," ἐκχυννόμενον, "which is shed for you,") must be applied to the impending sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ on the cross, not to any present sacrifice *hic et nunc.* The Vulgate has rightly rendered these words by the future (*quod pro vobis tradetur,* 1 *Cor.* 11, 24; *qui pro multis effundetur, Mt.* 26, 28). "You cannot drink," writes St. Paul (1 *Cor.* 10, 20 f.), "*the chalice of the Lord* and the chalice of demons; you cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord and the table of demons." Here, Renz observes, the Eucharistic meal is referred to by the terms "chalice" and "table of the Lord," and the Apostle designedly refrains from making mention of a Christian altar and sacrifice, because the Christians possessed nothing which they could truly immolate to the divinity (Renz I, 133 f.). And the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews (13, 10):

"We have an altar, whereof they have no power to eat who serve the tabernacle," are referred to the sacrifice of the cross (RENZ I, 112 ff.).

This interpretation is presented by RENZ as absolutely certain, but it is for the most part rather doubtful. The New Testament passages will be taken up later (p. 83 f.). That *Melchisedech* actually offered up the bread and wine which he brought to Abraham is highly probable, since the Sacred Text calls him "a priest of the Most High" (*Gen.* 14, 18), and elsewhere repeatedly alludes to his priestly character (*e. g., Ps.* 109, 4). The *primitive Church* from the very beginning invested the celebration of the Eucharist with a sacrificial character and applied to it the words of the prophet *Malachias.*[15] Evidently, therefore, she interpreted Scripture in this sense. Did *she err in her interpretation?* RENZ comes to that conclusion, but I cannot believe that she did.

Yet great credit is due to RENZ for conclusively answering (I, 235–257) the Protestant contention[16] that ST. CYPRIAN *introduced a new theory of sacrifice.* In numerous passages of his writings CYPRIAN makes it clear that the body and blood of Christ is offered by the priest. Thus in *Ep.* 63, 9, he writes that "the blood of Christ is not offered if there be no wine in the cup." *But earlier Church writers, as* JUSTIN

[15] This was done already in the DIDACHE (c. 14) and by ST. JUSTIN, *Dial.* 41.

[16] HÖFLING (*Die Lehre der ältesten Kirche vom Opfer*, 1851, *Einl.* V) writes: "Cyprian is the first to speak of the blood of Christ as the object of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and the first to give expression to the idea that at the Last Supper the Lord offered Himself as a sacrifice to God the Father." THEODORE HARNACK (*Der christl. Gemeindegottesdienst im apostolischen und altkatholischen Zeitalter*, 1854, 411) speaks of "the false turn which the concept of the Eucharistic sacrifice takes in his [Cyprian's] mind and which contains the germs of all the later theories of the sacrifice of the mass."— Latterly Protestant theologians are getting more cautious. Thus ADOLF HARNACK (*Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, I, 4th ed. 467) writes: "This transfer of the idea of sacrifice to the consecrated elements . . . in all probability existed prior to Cyprian. . . ."

(*Dial.*, 41) *and* IRENÆUS (IV, 17, 5 and 18, 4; cf. pp. 90–92) *have expressed themselves in similar language,* and CYPRIAN meant nothing else than that the Eucharist is a renewal or representation of the sacrifice of the cross. Thus he writes (*Ep.* 63, 14): "He has offered Himself as a sacrifice to the Father, and has commanded this to be done in commemoration of Himself;" and in the same Epistle (17): "The Lord's passion is the sacrifice which we offer." ORIGEN writes in a similar strain (*In Jesu Nave,* II, 1): "You see how the altars are no longer sprinkled with the blood of oxen, but sanctified by the precious blood of Christ." EUSEBIUS [17] uses the same expressions as CYPRIAN when, referring to the Eucharist, he speaks of "offering the memorial of the sacrifice of Christ," and "offering the presence of Christ in the flesh and in His assumed body."

6. Great was the sensation caused by the publication of a small treatise entitled, *"Mensa und Confessio, Studien über den Altar der altchristlichen Liturgie,"* [18] by DR. FRANZ WIELAND, vice-rector of the Dillingen Seminary. The author starts with the ideas of RENZ, but pushes them to conclusions that must be characterized as extremely doubtful and unsafe.[19] WIELAND'S work was highly praised, especially by A. HARNACK, who referred to it in his speech on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday, 1907, as treating the primitive Christian concept of sacrifice in a manner "that no Protestant church historian can find anything to criticize." FUNK wrote: [20] "The work is based on profound research and its principal theses are

[17] *Demonstr. Evangelica,* I, 13: *μνήμην τῆς θυσίας Χριστοῦ προσφέρειν,* and again: *τὴν ἔνσαρκον τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν καὶ τὸ καταρτισθὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα προσφέρειν.*

[18] *Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhist. Seminar München,* edited by A. KNÖPFLER, 2nd series, No. 11, Munich, 1906.

[19] RENZ'S work is frequently quoted and praised by WIELAND, but never criticized.

[20] *Theol. Quartalschr.,* 1907, 466.

probably true, though here and there some correction is needed. It has achieved a real scientific advance and reflects great credit on its author." In general, however, WIELAND'S position was not accepted by Catholic students of the question, and there are even a few who think that his main thesis has been condemned in the *49th proposition of the Syllabus of Pius X.* I declared myself against WIELAND'S views in the first edition of this book, and on two different occasions in the *Katholik*.[21] His most determined opponent was P. EMIL DORSCH, S.J., who took up the cudgels in an article entitled, *"Altar und Opfer"* in the Innsbruck *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie,* 1908, 307–352. WIELAND replied rather tartly in a pamphlet, *"Die Schrift Mensa und Confessio und P. Emil Dorsch, S.J., in Innsbruck"* (Munich, 1908). This drew from DORSCH'S pen the work, *"Der Opfercharakter der Eucharistie einst und jetzt,"* published at Innsbruck in the beginning of the year 1909. In the autumn of 1909, WIELAND wrote a larger volume, *"Der vorirenäische Opferbegriff"* (Munich, 234 pp.).[22] Both the last-named works treat the subject *calmly* and *exhaustively,* though from different view-points. WIELAND declares (Preface, p. v): "I maintain everything I advanced in my *Mensa und Confessio,* as well as in my *Reply,* as being solidly based on the truth." *It must be granted that he has, in his last book, adduced more cogent arguments for his position and has reduced the dogmatic difficulties raised against it. I do not, however, mean that he should be followed in all his deductions.* In the following pages I shall discuss the most important of his assertions. In

[21] Jahrgang 1909, Vol. I, 74–76 and 150–151.

[22] DORSCH answered this in an article, *"Aphorismen und Erwägungen zur Beleuchtung des 'vorirenäischen' Opferbegriffes,"* in the *Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theol.,* 1910, 71–117, and declared that as far as he was concerned the controversy was closed.

order that there may be no room for misunderstanding, I shall give his theses precisely as he himself formulates them at the beginning of his last work (p. xi f.).[23]

1. The Eucharistic celebration of the primitive Church consisted in this that thanksgiving was rendered to God through a prayer said over bread and wine; this prayer changed the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, with the object of partaking of it. The whole ceremony bore the character of a meal in common, but was regarded as the sacrifice of the new covenant, which was a sacrifice in so far as, through the prayer of thanksgiving, Jesus Christ, considered in His sacrifice on the cross, became present. The sacrifice therefore, was *liturgically* considered as a prayer.

2. Towards the end of the second century, the idea began gradually to take shape that the representation of Christ effected by the prayer of thanksgiving was symbolical of Christ offering Himself as a gift to God. The sacrifice of thanksgiving became a sacrifice of oblation. The sacrificial act itself was not altered intrinsically, but received a symbolic expression, which has since passed into the terminology of the Church.

3. As the sacrifice of Christ, according to Scripture, is but one, namely, the sacrifice of the cross, and as, according to the teaching of the Church, the sacrifice of the mass is identical with the sacrifice of the cross, the sacrifice of the mass must consist in this, that through the consecration Christ, whose sacrifice, offered once, is eternal before God, because the sacrificial act is inseparable from the Person of Christ,— becomes present in this unique sacrificial act before God in another, *i. e.,* Eucharistic form. Hence the mass is the sacrifice of the cross itself, represented by the prayer of the priest's consecration. Therefore the sacrifice of the mass is liturgically, as the primitive Church taught, a prayer, and can, on the part of man, be called only figuratively an offering of gifts, a symbolism which the primitive Church, until the end of the second century, fought shy of and refused to accept, and which in its literal acceptation has never been proved as a revealed truth nor defined as an article of faith.

[23] We shall cite Wieland's first book as *M. und C.*, the third as '*Opferbegriff*'; wherever Dorsch is mentioned the volume *Opfercharakter der Eucharistie* is meant.

7. WIELAND *claims that the celebration of the Eucharist in the primitive Church bore the character of a common meal.* In other passages he makes this statement clearer. "We find the liturgy of the Apostolic age exclusively under the form of a meal. This meal, and the glorification of God, which was connected with it, was deemed the sacrifice of the new covenant" (*M. und C.* 45); "and thus the Christian liturgy is totally ignorant of a sacrifice necessitating an altar and a distinct cultus" (*M. und C.* 36). I must protest against this assumption. If the celebration of the Eucharist was essentially a meal, and at the same time, as WIELAND concedes, a sacrifice, then the essence of the sacrifice must have consisted in the communion, whereas WIELAND argues that it lay in the prayer of consecration. WIELAND has not proved, any more than has RENZ, that the early Church regarded the Eucharist merely as a meal.[24] For instance, the fact recorded by JUSTIN (*Apol.*, I, 65), that the consecration took place through a long prayer of thanksgiving, is sufficient, according to WIELAND, to show that, at the celebration of the Eucharist, no more value was assigned to communion than to consecration. As long as WIELAND persists in the assertion that the liturgy of primitive Christianity recognized *the Eucharistic sacrifice only as a meal,* he need not be surprised that the 49th proposition of the Syllabus of Pope Pius X. is applied to him. This proposition reads: *"Coena christiana paullatim indolem actionis liturgicae assumente, hi qui coenæ praeesse consueverant, characterem sacerdotalem acquisiverunt."* In order to escape this quandary, he made haste to declare (*Opferbegriff*, 220) that he had always distinguished "the breaking of bread" as practised in the early Church, from the "koinonie," *i. e.*, love-feasts, thereby

[24] Cf. DORSCH, *Der Opfercharakter*, 259–261.

admitting that the breaking of bread was not a sequel to the "koinonie," but had a higher and strictly liturgical meaning. This distinction is also made by FUNK and HARNACK, although JÜLICHER and others identify the Eucharist of primitive times with the love-feasts, *i. e.,* regard the Eucharist of that age altogether as a meal, at which every one was allowed to eat his fill. This view of the case receives some support from 1 *Cor.* 11, and the DIDACHE (c. 9). At all events, the distinction is by no means proved, and it would be extremely perilous to base the sacrificial character of the Eucharist on this alone.

8. Again and again WIELAND *declares* (*e. g., Opferbegriff,* p. 182) that he "*in no way questions the sacrificial character of the mass, but solely the applicability to the sacrifice of the New Testament of the traditional scholastic definition,*" which says that "a sacrifice is the oblation of a sensible gift which is mystically consecrated to God *by its destruction or change,* in order to acknowledge His supreme dominion over all created things." [25] According to this definition, a sacrifice in the strict and proper sense of the term requires the destruction or change of a sensible gift. We have already pointed out that since the time of the Council of Trent theologians have endeavored to find all these elements in the mass, and in particular, that *they have not been satisfied with the idea of a symbolic destruction of Christ,* but have held that there is an actual destruction or transformation of the oblation at mass. We have also shown RENZ to be distinctly opposed to these endeavors. WIELAND *goes even further* and says (*Opferbegriff,* p. 189): "I think I may affirm that no

[25] "*Sacrificium est oblatio rei sensibilis cum ejus destructione vel immutatione soli Deo facta per legitimum ministrum ad recognoscendum supremum ejus in res omnes creatas dominium ritu mystico consecrata.*" Thus SIMAR, *Lehrb. d. Dogmatik,* § 155, 1; also SCHANZ, *Die Lehre von den heiligen Sakramenten,* p. 479.

theory of the mass can be built upon the idea of sacrifice taken in the sense of a material oblation of gifts without its clashing with logic or dogma, or both, when the idea *gift* is taken in its strict sense. This has been amply shown by the numerous theories concerning the mass, all of which are based on the conception of sacrifice as a gift. . . . This experience justifies the conclusion that to assume that the essential element of sacrifice consists in the oblation of a gift, is erroneous." WIELAND proceeds to explain that the purpose of every sacrifice is the union of man with God;[26] but as the only way to effect this union is a happy death, there originated the idea of achieving this union with God by a symbolic death. "Man offered up symbolically his own life to the divinity, by destroying before God the choicest of those things which condition and sustain the noblest means of living and enjoying life as a symbolic expression of life itself, so that in reality it was man himself who sought to consecrate himself and his life to God as the absolute Lord and thereby to re-enter into communion with God. Nay, man went further and killed animals as a substitute for sinful humanity, the eating of which in the sacrificial feast made him a partaker of the divinity, and thus sought to establish a symbolic union with God. This destruction of a thing before God was termed 'offering' something to God, and the whole transaction was called 'a sacrifice' to God. Not alone in a concrete 'offering' to God did the peculiar character of the sacrifice lie, but in the act of self-immolation symbolized by the concrete object of the sacrifice" (*op. cit.*, p. 191 f.).

WIELAND argues that *the Israelites,* "like the pagans, *in their human shortsightedness and superficiality,* per-

[26] Cfr. AUGUSTINE, *De Civ. Dei,* X, 6: "*Verum sacrificium est omne opus, quod agitur ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo.*"

sisted in taking the symbol for the essence, believing that by the external offering of a concrete gift they could pay their duties to God, and then gradually saw a positive sacrifice in these gifts." The prophets declared this to be an error. "Doth the Lord desire holocausts and victims, and not rather that the voice of the Lord shall be obeyed? For obedience is better than sacrifices" (1 *Kings* 15, 22). "With burnt offerings thou wilt not be delighted, a sacrifice to God is an afflicted spirit" (*Ps.* 50, 18, 19). "For I spoke not to your fathers and I commanded them not, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning the matter of burnt offerings and sacrifices, but this thing I commanded them saying: Hearken to my voice, and I will be your God, and you shall be my people" (*Jer.* 7, 22, 23).

These deductions may be readily admitted. They all culminate in the idea that a sensible gift is not absolutely indispensable for a sacrifice in the strict sense, that the sacrificial rite and the oblation have "a purely symbolical meaning," and according to Holy Writ itself are unnecessary for the honor of God. WIELAND'S conclusions on this point agree with the theory of sacrifice advanced in 1908 by DR. PELL, professor at Passau,[27] who says (p. 12): "The essence of sacrifice certainly does not depend on definite formulas (rites), but when the reasonable creature on earth, in unreserved obedience, moved by a devotion of love which no obstacle may hinder, acts before God and for God, such action, regarded as an 'offering' or 'gift' to God, is a 'sacrifice,' nay, the very concentration of all sacrifices." In *applying this theory of sacrifice to the death of Jesus on the cross,* the author writes (p. 15):

[27] *Noch ein Lösungsversuch der Messopfer-Frage unter Revision des Opferbegriffes,* Passau, 1908. (A reprint from the *Theol.-prakt. Monatsschrift,* 1908, pp. 641–675), 3rd revised edition, 1912.

"In the sacrifice of the cross it is not the passion and death of Jesus, as such, that is pleasing and meritorious in the sight of God. God is not bloodthirsty nor revengeful, that the spasms of pain and the death throes of His Son should please Him. Not what was done to Christ is pleasing to God, but what Christ did, . . . namely, offer an eternal and perfect act of obedience." But when the writer goes on to assert that the sacrifice of Christ began, as did His obedience, at His entrance into the world (cf. *Heb.* 10, 5–7) and continues forever in Heaven, we must object with WIELAND (*Opferbegriff*, p. 200) *that a sacrifice is not a mere intention, but the carrying out of the same.*

9. In his definition of *the holy sacrifice of the mass*, WIELAND follows RENZ (see above, p. 64). He expressly declares that the expression "*gift-offering*" (*offerre corpus et sanguinem Christi*), which the Council of Trent employed to denote the action of the consecrating priest, is used in conformity with the old terminology of sacrifice and *must be understood symbolically*. "What God demands of us is not the simple presence of Christ in the Eucharist," he writes (*Opferbegriff*, p. 209), "but that we cause Him to be present; . . . His sacrifice should thus also be our work; just as He glorified and propitiated God on the cross, so we, by giving outward form to His act of glorification before God, should praise and propitiate God." This participation on man's part in the sacrifice of Christ in the holy mass, he says, has since the third century been called an oblation and offering of the body and blood of Christ. This does not mean that "we present to God the body and blood of Christ," but "we really and truly re-present the separation of His body and blood, or the death of Christ, not indeed in the sense of a repetition, but only in a new form of appearance" (*op. cit.*, p. 212). In sup-

port of this conclusion, WIELAND can (rightly it seems to me) appeal to the fact that, according to the Council of Trent, the sacrificing priest in the holy mass is Christ Himself (*"idem offerens."* Sess. 22, cap. 2); hence if the Council says of the consecrating priest that he *offers* the body and blood of Christ (Sess. 22, can. 1), this can only mean that he coöperates, by virtue of the consecration, in Christ's self-immolation. To "offer up sacrifice," therefore, is a figurative expression for designating the consecration.

If this be so, then *there is no contradiction between the teaching of the Council of Trent and that of the Fathers* anterior to IRENÆUS, who, as WIELAND alleges, designated the Eucharistic thanksgiving or prayer of consecration as the sacrifice of Christians and never applied the idea of a gift-offering to the sacrifice of the mass. WIELAND concedes that the celebration of the Eucharist prior to IRENÆUS was recognized as strictly a sacrifice and a liturgical rite. What he denies is that it was customary before the time of IRENÆUS to speak of the offering of the body and blood of Christ by the priest. He also calls attention to the fact that the scope and conception of the *priesthood* received a new form and a new meaning in the Christian Church (*op. cit.*, p. 219 ff.). The conception of the priesthood in the Old Testament was intimately bound up with the conception of "sacrificial gifts"; it was the office of priests, both Jewish and pagan, to offer "gifts" to the divinity. The priesthood of the Old Law was replaced by Christ Himself (*Hebr.* 5). Christ is the sacrificing priest both on the cross and at holy mass. "The priests of the Catholic Church, therefore," as WIELAND rightly observes (*op. cit.*, p. 223), "are not priests because they offer a gift, but they are priests because they serve as visible instruments of the One Priest when He offers His sacri-

fice." This is probably the reason why in the first two centuries the *praesides of the Church were not called priests* (*sacerdotes*). TERTULLIAN was the first to call them by this name, which may have seemed inappropriate to some, seeing that the Christian priesthood offered no visible gifts, as did the Jewish and the heathen priests.

10. *But is it a fact that prior to the time of* IRENÆUS *the Church knew of no real sacrifice, no "oblation" of the body and blood of the Lord?* WIELAND confidently asserted this in his book, *Mensa und Confessio* (A. D. 1906), and it was precisely this contention that became the central point in the controversy to which his writings gave rise. From the alleged absence of *a real sacrifice in the primitive Church,* WIELAND *concluded that the early Christians could have had no real altar,* but had only *an ordinary meal table,* and put himself to some pains to show that the word θυσιαστήριον, wherever it occurs in the New Testament or in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, must never be understood in the sense of a Christian altar, or as a liturgical implement. In proving this thesis, he follows in the footsteps of RENZ, and maintains that the sacrificial character of the Eucharist can in no way be proved from Holy Scripture.[28] In order to judge of the truth of this view we shall have *to consider carefully the various passages of Scripture and the Patristic texts that bear on this question.* This shall be the object of the following pages.

The present participles διδόμενον and ἐκχυννόμενον in the synoptic narratives of the institution, WIELAND (*Op-*

[28] Even Protestants have protested against this view. K. G. GOETZ (*Die heutige Abendmahlsforschung in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung,* 2nd ed., Leipsic, 1907) writes (p. 185): "Yet I remain firm in the conviction that the sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper is in several respects well grounded in the New Testament as in the other old accounts. Protestant scientific theology in reference to this matter has shown remarkable obtuseness, so far as I am able to judge."

ferbegriff, p. 1 ff.), following RENZ, regards as *future*, as referring to the impending death of our Lord. In support of this position, he gives the following proofs: (a) The official Church of antiquity translated these participles as if they were future, and the Vulgate, the commentaries of JEROME, and the canon of the mass, all have *tradetur* and *effundetur*. Against this, DORSCH remarks that the original reading of the Vulgate probably was *traditur* and *effunditur*.[29] Here WIELAND is probably right, for in ST. CYPRIAN'S time the Itala had the future tense,[30] and so also had JEROME in his Latin text.[31] (b) *The Greek present participle in Holy Scripture often has a future meaning*, even when it is joined to the principal verb in the present; WIELAND adduces a number of passages in support of this claim. POHLE [32] takes the opposite view and asserts that no passage can be found in Greek where the present participle has a future meaning, least of all where the finite verb is used in the present. *On this point also*, WIELAND *is right*. There are many passages in Holy Writ, in which the Greek present participle has a future sense, even in combination with a present as a finite verb. *The future participle is rarely employed in the Greek Bible*.[33]

[29] *Der Opfercharakter*, p. 208 ff.; he appeals to PESCH, *Praelectiones Dogmaticae*, II, 2nd ed., 373, no. 871.

[30] Cf. VON SODEN, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians* (*Texte u. Unters.*, Vol. XXXIII), Leipsic, 1909, 420; "*effundetur*" in *Matt.* 26, 28 and the same in *Mark* 14, 24.

[31] "*Effundetur*," *Comm. in Matt.* (P. L., XXVI, 195); "*tradetur*," *In Ep. I. ad Cor.* (P.L., XXX, 752).

[32] *Lehrb. d. Dogmatik*, III, 333.

[33] Cf. ALEX. BUTTMANN, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauches*, Berlin, 1859, § 144, 10. A collection of such passages may be found in WIELAND (*Opferbegriff*, p. 4 f.) and BUTTMANN (*op. cit.*, 178). Here we find, *Matt.* 26, 25: ὁ παραδιδούς, whilst just before this, v. 23, we have οὗτος με παραδώσει. *John* 21, 10: τίς ἐστιν ὁ παραδιδούς σε. 2 Cor. 2, 15: ὅτι Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμεν τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις. 1 *Cor.* 4, 14: οὐκ ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς γράφω ταῦτα. 2 *Petr.* 3, 11: τούτων οὕτως πάντων λυομένων (*cum igitur haec omnia dissolvenda sint*), ποταποὺς δεῖ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς. To this class the parti-

St. Paul's comparison of the table of the Lord with the table of the demons (1 *Cor.* 10, 20) appears to presume that the table of the Lord has the same sacrificial character as that which St. Paul, in this passage, undoubtedly assigns to the table of the demons. WIELAND (*Opferbegriff*, p. 10 ff.) claims that the *tertium comparationis* in this passage is not the sacrificial character, but the congregation, as if the Apostle wished to say: "You have a part in Christ; but he who participates in the meals celebrated in honor of false gods holds communion with demons; you cannot partake of both at the same time; hence avoid idolatrous worship." Others are of a different opinion.[34]

Heb. 13, 10: "We have an altar (θυσιαστήριον), whereof they have no power to eat who serve the tabernacle," is understood figuratively by WIELAND (*op. cit.*, 16 ff.; *Mensa und Confessio*, 25 and 39) and applied to Christ on the cross. The bodies of the animals whose blood was brought into the Holy of Holies by the high priest, had to be burnt "outside the camp," the priests and their assistants were not allowed to eat them. Similarly, says WIELAND, Christ suffered outside the gates, and we must keep aloof from those that serve the tabernacle, if we would be His servants. WIELAND argues that even if this verse be referred to the eating of the Eucharist, nothing could be gleaned from it in support of the sacrificial character of the latter. I cannot accept this assertion. The passage must be explained as follows: The Apostle in verse 9 had warned his followers against the sacrificial meals of

ciple ὁ ἐρχόμενος (*v. g., I Thess.* 1, 10) does not belong, because this verb can in all its present forms have a future meaning; cf. KRÜGER, *Griech. Sprachlehre*, § 53, 1, 8.

[34] *E. g.*, BELLARMINE (*De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, III, c. 15, no. 35: "*Scriptura apud Paulum tam aperte confert coenam domini cum sacrificiis Hebraeorum et gentilium, ut plane sit caecus, qui non videt eam ex Pauli sententia sacrificium esse*"), and, among modern Protestant theologians, GOETZ, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

the Jews, because, as he says in verse 10, they had their own altar of sacrifice in which Christians cannot take part. Then, to show that the Jews are denied participation in the Eucharist, he says: Jesus died outside the camp, and therefore His flesh cannot be used for the sacrificial meal of the Jews. Clearly the Eucharist is meant by the "altar of sacrifice," in verse 10, for according to the express teaching of the Apostle in 1 *Cor.* 10, the Eucharist is the sacrificial flesh of Christ; now since the table of the Eucharist is called a *θυσιαστήριον* and compared with the Jewish table of sacrifice, *it is clearly designated as a sacrifice.*

Turning to tradition, mention must first be made of the DIDACHE (c. 14): "On the Lord's day come together, break bread, and give thanks, after having confessed your sins, that your sacrifice (*θυσία*) may be pure." The celebration of the Eucharist is here called a sacrifice, and further on, *Mal.* 1, 11 is applied to it, as also the passage in which there is mention of the oblation that shall in the future replace the Jewish sacrifice. The DIDACHE does not, however, explain in what the sacrifice of the Eucharist consists.

CLEMENT OF ROME is more explicit. He presupposes, as HARNACK remarks,[35] "the conception of the Last Supper as a sacrifice, when he compares (1 *Cor.*, c. 40–44) the bishops and deacons to the priests and Levites of the Old Law and designates the 'offering of gifts' (*προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα*) as their principal function." This he does in c. 44, 4: "For our sin will not be small, if we eject from the episcopate those who have blamelessly and holily presented the offerings."[36]

[35] *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, I, 4th ed., 231.

[36] This translation (it is FUNK's) is evidently more accurate than that of DORSCH (*Opfercharakter*, 230) and WIELAND (*Opferbegriff*, 49) who translate from the old Latin and Coptic version: "if we reject those who have blamelessly and holily offered the gifts *of the episcopacy.*" The Greek text reads: *ἐάν τοὺς . . . προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλωμεν.* That the genitive *τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς* belongs

The expression προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα is to be understood as referring to the sacrificial gifts rather than to the Eucharistic prayers, and *this is an argument against* WIELAND.[37]

It is true indeed that the word θυσιαστήριον, so often employed by IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, cannot be always applied to the Eucharist, for instance in *Ephes.* 5, 2: "Let no man deceive himself: if any one be not within the altar (ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου), he is deprived of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two possesses such power, how much more that of the bishop and the whole Church." IGNATIUS explains the expression "*within the altar*" in *Trall.* 7, 2, where he says that "to be without the altar" means to "do anything apart from the bishop, the presbyters and deacons." This meaning agrees perfectly with the passage cited above, which consequently tells us nothing of the existence of an actual altar of sacrifice in the Christian community. But, on the other hand, *Philad.* 4 seems to imply the existence of such an altar. WIELAND has not been able (*Opferbegriff,* p. 57 ff.) to give another meaning to this passage. It reads: "Take ye heed, then, to have but *one* Eucharist. For there is *one* flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and *one* cup to [show forth] the unity of His blood; *one altar, as there is one bishop,* with the presbytery and the deacons. . . ."

The *Apologists* of the second century repeatedly declared that, contrary to the pagan and Jewish sacrifices, God the Creator of the whole world is in no need of human gifts. From this WIELAND concludes (*Opferbegriff,* 61 ff.) that these writers did not regard the

to ἀποβάλωμεν is clear from c. 44, 3, where we read ἀποβάλλεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας, and also for the reason that without the genitive τά δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς and ζποβαλλεῖν are meaningless.

[37] The word προσφέρειν is employed seven times by CLEMENT, five times of real sacrificial gifts (4, 4 of Cain's offering, 10, 7 of Isaac's sacrifice, and 41, 2 three times in reference to the Jewish religious sacrifices); in 43, 2 it means "to fetch" (βάβδους), 47, 2, "to entail" (ἁμαρτίαν).

Eucharist itself, but only the prayer which accompanied it, as a sacrificial gift and the liturgical sacrifice of the Christians. *This conclusion strikes me as too bold.* Supposing — which WIELAND denies — that the apologists really considered the body and blood of Christ as sacrificial gifts, they could not have made this sacrificial character clear to their pagan and Jewish opponents, but would have had to be satisfied with the remark that the Christians rejected the material sacrifices of other religions and possessed a spiritual one, which was essentially a prayer. WIELAND retorts (*op. cit.*, 80) that JUSTIN in his *Apology* freely explains the Christian mystery without concealing anything. True, he enlightens the Emperor on the nature of Baptism and the Eucharist; but I should like to ask: Was it possible for him to make clear to his opponents that the sacrifice of the Christians was not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ, that not only was Christ present in the Eucharist, but it was a representation of His bloody sacrificial death? The calumnies of the pagans were not directed against this fact; they thought evil of the Christians merely because *they ate the body and drank the blood of Christ.*

Let us examine the expressions of the Apologists more closely. ARISTIDES (c. 4) and ATHENAGORAS (*Leg.*, 13) assert that God needs no creature, and therefore can dispense with the offerings of blood, fat, or incense. ATHENAGORAS adds: "For Him [God] the greatest sacrifice is when we acknowledge Him who extended the heavens, who made the earth to be the centre, and who formed man. What, then, is the use of burnt offerings, which God does not need? Nevertheless it is a duty to offer an unbloody sacrifice and to render to Him spiritual adoration." By the phrases "unbloody sacrifice" and "spiritual adora-

tion," the apologist in all probability has reference to the Eucharist.

JUSTIN claims (*Apol.*, I, 13) that the Christians are not godless, even though they do not offer to God any blood, incense and drink offerings, of which He has no need. Just what their religious service does consist of, he declares in the following words: "We praise God to the utmost of our power by a word of prayer and thanksgiving for all the things which we eat,[38] as we have been taught that the only honor that is worthy of Him is not to consume by fire what He has created for our sustenance, but to use it for ourselves and those who are in need, and gratefully render thanks to Him by invocation (διὰ λόγου). In another passage (*Dial.*, 117), JUSTIN speaks more clearly on the sacrifice of the Christians. The Jew TRYPHON had explained the pure oblation foretold by Malachias (1, 11) to be the prayers of the Jews in the Diaspora. JUSTIN replies to this assertion: *"That prayers and thanksgiving, when offered by worthy men, are the only perfect and God-pleasing sacrifices, I also admit. Such alone Christians have been taught to do* (ποιεῖν — to offer?) *also in the memorial celebration of their solid and liquid food, at which they recall the suffering of the Son of God, which He endured for them."*[39]

It cannot be denied that in these two passages, especially the second, JUSTIN designates prayer and thanksgiving as the sole and proper sacrifice of the Christians, particularly those prayers which they recite

[38] In the Greek it reads: *ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα.* DORSCH and WIELAND translate it wrongly by, "for all things which we offer"; ordinarily, *προσφέρεσθαι* means "to appease hunger," as in Xen., *Cyr.*, IV, 2, 41; Aesch., 1, 145; *τὸ προσφερόμενον* = nourishment in Xen., *Cyr.*, 6, 2.

[39] *"Οτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεσταί εἰσι τῷ θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτός φημι. Ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐφ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους, ὃ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοὺς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, μέμνηται.*

over the bread and wine at the celebration of the Eucharist. DORSCH's attempt to show that these prayers are merely incidental features of the Christian sacrifice, must be rejected (WIELAND, *Opferbegriff*, 90). WIELAND is also right in the following conclusion: "My idea of fairness," he writes (p. 91), "compels me to insist that, when TRYPHON declares that the only worthy sacrifices are the prayers and thanksgivings which serve as a substitute for the old Jewish concrete oblations, and when JUSTIN approves his words and declares that such is precisely the sacrifice of the Christians, JUSTIN must understand the terms *prayers* and *thanksgiving* in precisely the same sense as his opponent." But even if this assumption is correct, we can only say that JUSTIN denied the existence among Christians of merely outward sacrifices such as those offered by the Jews. Did he also mean to deny the offering of the body and blood of Christ in the sense of a representation of His death on the cross? WIELAND constantly refers to the Christian sacrifice in this sense as a material or real oblation. I should hesitate to adopt this interpretation. The whole matter is too mystical, the *sacrifice of the mass is of too peculiar a character to be put on a level with the pre-Christian gift offerings.* JUSTIN himself shows that the Eucharistic prayers and thanksgiving, *qua* sacrifice, coincide with the Eucharistic bread and wine in the sense of the ancients. Though he emphatically declares prayers and thanksgiving to be the sole sacrifice of the Christians (*Dial.*, 41), he says:[40] "The offering of meal, which was prescribed on behalf of those purified from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, which our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed, in

[40] Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας, προλέγει κτλ.

remembrance of His passion, to be prepared (or *offered,* ποιεῖν) for the purpose of purifying the souls of men from all iniquity. [Follows the prophecy of Malachias.] He had in His mind's eye the sacrifices that were to be offered up to Him everywhere by us gentiles, *i. e.,* the bread of the Eucharist, and the cup of the Eucharist, declaring that we glorify His name, while you profane it." In this passage, *the bread and cup of the Eucharist, and not the consecrating prayer,* are represented as *the sacrifice of the Christians.* The offering of meal for those cured of leprosy is held up as a type of the Eucharist, which is thus characterized as a real sacrifice.

Clement of Alexandria views the matter in much the same light. "We do not make sacrifice to God," he writes *Strom.* VII, 3), "and rightly so, for He needs nothing and supplies men with all they have. . . . But if by nature needing nothing, He yet delights to be honored, *it is very proper that we honor God by prayer.* . . . The sacrifice of the Church is the word which rises up as incense from holy souls, whereby the whole mind is unveiled to God" (*Strom.,* VII, 6). But in another passage [41] Clement calls the Eucharist a gift (προσφορά) to God, and writes: [42] "The fatted calf is killed (θύεται), which is also spoken of as a lamb, . . . which was led 'as a sheep to the slaughter.' . . . To the sons who come to Him, *the Father gives the calf, which is slain and eaten* (θύεται καὶ τρώγεται)." Here the consecration is called an immolation of Christ.[43]

[41] *Strom.,* I, 19 (*P.G.,* VIII, 813). There is question here of those who in sacrificing πρὸς τὴν προσφοράν employed bread and water, because, contrary to the prescription of the Church, they gave thanks only over the water.

[42] In a fragment reproduced in Migne, *P.G.,* IX, 760 f. Cf. Ante-Nicene Fathers, II, 582.

[43] Wieland objects (*Opferbegriff,* 113) that this interpretation is impossible, because the idea of killing was not at that time applied to the Eucharist. But Dorsch rightly appeals to Tertullian, *De Pud.,* 9:

TERTULLIAN also describes prayer as the best sacrificial gift of the Christians (*De Orat., 27*) and adds (c. 28): "We are the true adorers and the true priests, who, praying in spirit, *sacrifice* in spirit the *prayer* which is proper and acceptable to God, and which He demands for Himself and which He has ordained for Himself." In his Apology (30) he calls the prayer which God requires, "a fatter and nobler victim (*hostia*) than those of the pagans." But in another passage [44] the same TERTULLIAN calls the Eucharistic bread a *"sacrificium"* and speaks of standing at God's altar. TERTULLIAN was also the first to call the dispensers of the Christian rites *"sacerdotes."* [45]

In the writings of IRENÆUS *the idea that the Eucharistic prayer is the sacrifice of the Christians,* is less prominent than the conception that *the oblations of the faithful* for the poor and for consecration, including the consecrated elements, *i. e.,* the body and blood of Christ, constitute the sacrifices of the new covenant. The earlier conception did not, however, die out, for we meet it again throughout the third century and occasionally even in later times. The second-century objection that God did not need sacrifices, would have been met in the third by the statement that they should be offered, *even though* God does not need them.

IRENÆUS: "In directing His disciples to offer to God the firstfruits of His creation — not as if He stood in need of them, but that they might be themselves neither unfruitful nor ungrateful — Christ took bread, which is a creature, and gave thanks, saying, 'This is my body.' And the cup likewise, which is part of that creation to which we belong, He declared to be His blood, and thus taught the new oblation of the new covenant, which the Church received from the Apostles and offers up to

"Recuperabit igitur et apostata vestem priorem, indumentum spiritus sancti et anulum denuo signaculum lavacri et rursus illi mactabitur Christus."

[44] *De Orat.*, 19.

[45] *De Exhort. Cast.*, 7.

God throughout the whole world,—to Him who gives us sustenance as the firstfruits of His gifts in the New Testament" (*Adv. Haer.*, IV, 17, 5). "We make offering to Him, not as though He stood in need of it, but to render thanks to His majesty, and thus sanctify what has been created. . . . As God commanded the Jewish nation to make sacrifices, though He hath no need of them, that they might learn to serve God, thus and for the same reason He wills that we, too, should offer a gift without intermission" (*Adv. Haer.*, IV, 18, 6).

ORIGEN writes in a similar strain: "Let us arise and beseech God that we may be worthy to offer Him gifts, which He will give back to us, rendering heavenly for earthly [gifts] in Christ Jesus" (*Hom. in Lucam*, 39).

CYPRIAN makes use of the expression *offerre* when he speaks of the offering of bread and wine for sacrifice [46] and also for the consecration. Occasionally he even calls the gifts not yet consecrated, *sacrificium*.

"You are wealthy and rich, and imagine that you celebrate the Lord's Supper, though you give no thought to the offering (*corban*), come to the Lord's Supper without a sacrifice, and receive a portion of the *sacrificium* which the poor offer" (*De Op. et Eleem.*, 15). "Whence it appears that the blood of Christ is not offered if there be no wine in the cup, nor the Lord's sacrifice (*sacrificium dominicum*) celebrated with a legitimate consecration unless our oblation and sacrifice (*oblatio et sacrificium*) respond to His passion" (*Ep.* 63, 9). "An enemy of the altar, a rebel against Christ's sacrifice, . . . despises the bishops, forsakes God's priests, and dares to set up another altar, to make another prayer with unauthorized words, to profane the Lord's true offering (*hostia*) by false sacrifices" (*De Cath. Eccl. Unit.*, 17). It will be noted that in this last passage the prayer of consecration is called *sacrificium;* this locution is common to the apologists.

In the DIDASCALIA it is *the prayers and gifts* of the faithful that are commonly referred to as sacrifice. Prayer and thanksgiving, according to II, 26 (FUNK,

[46] These material gift-offerings, even before consecration, were called in SERAPION'S *Anaphora* (cf. my *Floril. Patrist.*, fasc. VII, 27), a ζῶσα θυσία and προσφορὰ ἀναίμακτος.

p. 102), replaced the Old Testament sacrifices, and the gifts of the faithful (*προσφοραί*) replaced the first-fruits and tithes; these gifts are offered by the bishop to God for the remission of sins. And again: "Offer ye up the royal Eucharist, a clean bread, that is sanctified through the invocation." (VI, *22*; FUNK, p. 376.)

CONCLUSIONS

The sacrificial character of the Eucharist is not clearly enunciated in *Holy Scripture;* but the comparison of the table of the Lord with the table of the demons in 1 *Cor.* 10, 20, and the expression "altar of sacrifice" (*θυσιαστήριον*) in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (13, 10) no doubt refer to it, even though RENZ and WIELAND try to explain these texts differently. In the DIDACHE (c. 14) and by CLEMENT OF ROME (1 *Cor.* 40–44), the Eucharist is explicitly designated as a sacrifice. How the nature of the *Eucharistic sacrifice* was conceived in the first century, cannot be clearly determined. The expression "to offer gifts" (*προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα*) in CLEMENT (c. 44, 4) and the word *θυσιαστήριον* in *Heb.* 13, 10 and IGNATIUS (*Ad Philad.,* 4) suggest the idea of a real sacrifice or gift offering.

The *Apologists* insist against Jews and Gentiles that God has no need of visible sacrifices and that the sacrifices of the Christians therefore consist in doing good, leading a virtuous life, *and especially in the prayers and thanksgivings* recited over the bread and wine in the Eucharistic celebration. Occasionally the bread and wine of the Eucharist is called, even by JUSTIN, the sacrifice of the Christians. This last named terminology became more frequent towards the end of the second century: for we meet it in the writings of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, TERTULLIAN, and IRENÆUS. TERTULLIAN and other later writers speak of the altar and the priesthood,— ideas that are

totally absent in the writings of the Apologists. *Towards the end of the second century still another view gained the upper hand.* Whereas the Apologists used to say: "We offer to God no visible gift, because He does not stand in need of it," the Christian position now is: "We offer Him such gifts, even though He does not stand in need of them." *What were these gifts?* According to the explicit declaration of IRENÆUS, ORIGEN, CYPRIAN, and the DIDASCALIA, they are first of all bread and wine, which, at the celebration of the Eucharist, the faithful offer to God as the first-fruits (*oblationes,* also called *sacrificia* by CYPRIAN) of His bestowed gifts, but chiefly the consecrated elements, that is, the body and blood of the Lord. Sometimes the thought is expressed that we offer to God earthly gifts and in return receive heavenly benefits in the Eucharist. That the celebration of the Eucharist is a memorial of the passion of Jesus, is expressly asserted by JUSTIN (*Dial.,* 117) and CYPRIAN (Ep. 63, 17); the latter even says, "*The passion of the Lord is the sacrifice which we offer.*"

On the basis of this primitive doctrine we *can form an opinion of* WIELAND'S *main thesis, viz.:* "Towards the end of the second century the idea began gradually to take shape that the representation of Christ, effected by the prayer of thanksgiving, was symbolical of an offering of this same Christ as a gift to God; *the sacrifice of thanksgiving became a sacrifice of offering*" (*Opferbegriff,* Einl. xi). Incidentally WIELAND asserts that the Church of the first two centuries knew nothing of the altar as an article of religious furniture or a utensil of sacrifice, but contented herself with Eucharistic tables.

WIELAND *appeals in support of his contention to the fact* that the Apologists of the second century make no mention of the existence of an altar in Chris-

tian worship, and that the prayer and the thanksgiving accompanying the Eucharistic celebration are again and again described as the only (liturgical) sacrifice. *Yet it must be kept in mind* that the conception of the Eucharist as a sacrificial gift, and of the Eucharistic table as an altar, had already been expressed in Holy Writ, was clearly reflected in one passage at least of JUSTIN, and recognized within the Church, towards the year 200, in many places. Was it a new conception in the year 200? Must we say, as Wieland does, that *it is post-Irenæic? This is highly improbable.* I hold that the Apologists and the Apostolic Fathers had the same idea of the Eucharistic sacrifice as IRENÆUS, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, TERTULLIAN, and CYPRIAN.[47] These four writers express themselves in precisely the same manner as the Apologists; they call the prayer and thanksgiving accompanying the celebration of the Eucharist the sacrifice of the Christians. The only difference is that the Apologists employed this expression by preference against their Jewish and pagan opponents, whereas later on its use became less frequent. From the very beginning the

[47] This view of the case, we are glad to note, has also been taken by K. ADAM. "WIELAND," he writes (*Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Augustin,* 1908, 13), "traces this material conception of the Christian sacrifice back to IRENÆUS. In matter of fact it can be found in the Synoptics, in St. Paul, and in the early Fathers. The DIDACHE, the First Epistle of CLEMENT, IGNATIUS, and JUSTIN connect the 'thanksgiving' with the liturgical breaking of bread, and understand it not as a purely spiritual, but as a material and spiritual act. Not merely the *gratiarum actio,* but the complete thanksgiving *super panem* constitutes the new sacrifice of the Christians. *If the subjective thanksgiving is its formal element, the Eucharist is the material.* IRENÆUS marks an advance only in so far as he seeks to prove the idea of a material sacrifice *ex professo.* In this he was not 'conscious of a new departure,' for he explicitly traces the 'new offering after the type of Melchisedech' back to the Apostles." (*Adv. Haer.,* IV, 17, 5; *supra,* p. —.) The same opinion as regards ST., IRENÆUS is held by SEEBERG (*Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.,* I, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1908, p. 368): "What Irenæus means is this: the Christians offer bread and wine as a sacrifice, *but they do this in virtue of the Eucharistic prayer of thanksgiving,* which in a special manner qualifies those sensible elements."

Eucharist was regarded as a sacrifice, and, in accordance with the words of St. Paul, as a memorial of the sacrifice of the cross. The question as to the relation which the Eucharist bore to the sacrifice of the cross, whether, for instance, Christ Himself officiated as the priest, was not studied at all and scarcely alluded to by the Apologists. Because the Christian sacrifice was so entirely different from that of the Jews and pagans, the Apologists did not even mention the Christian altar nor call the dispensers of the Christian rites priests. Towards the close of the second century, when theology became more thorough and gradually lost its apologetic character, it became customary to say that the gifts of love presented in the religious meetings were the first-fruits offered to God. This thought was not entirely new, for JUSTIN had given utterance to it (*Dial.*, 117) when he called the Eucharist a memorial of solid and liquid food. As these material sacrificial gifts were changed into the body and blood of the Lord, the further expression naturally suggested itself, that the body and blood of Christ, too, were "offered" or "immolated." Thus it came to pass that in the third century the term "sacrifice of the Christians" was sometimes applied to the Eucharistic prayers, sometimes to the bread and wine before the consecration,[48] sometimes to the body and blood of Christ, and sometimes (by ST. CYPRIAN) to the passion of Christ.

In its essential features, therefore, the conception of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist has not changed; the only difference is a difference in the

[48] In the Anaphora of SERAPION, written in the fourth century, the bread and wine before the consecration are spoken of as follows: *προσηνέγκαμεν ταύτην τὴν ζῶσαν θυσίαν, τὴν προσφορὰν τὴν ἀναίμακτον*; they are therefore described as sacrificial gifts (cf. my *Floril. Patrist.*, fasc. VII, 27). TERTULLIAN and CYPRIAN use similar expressions.

terms chosen to designate it at different periods. RENZ and WIELAND *deserve credit* for proving that the expression "to offer" or "to immolate" the body and blood of Christ, which was employed by the Fathers of the Church, by later ecclesiastical writers, and finally by the Council of Trent, is to be understood in a symbolical sense. WIELAND, in particular, has done much towards clearing up the testimony of the early Fathers in regard to the Eucharist. But for very good reasons we cannot follow him in the contention that before the time of IRENÆUS the idea of the Christian altar was foreign to the Church, and that in the days of IRENÆUS the conception of the Eucharistic sacrifice underwent an essential change.

§ 5. The Canon of the Mass

1. The canon of the mass has been in recent years the object of much historic research, which has been attended with considerable success. The oldest canon among those known to us until a very recent date is that contained in the eighth book of the so-called Apostolic Constitutions (c. 12–15). It is written in Greek, dates back, as does the whole collection, to the end of the fourth century,[1] and has come down to us under the name *Clementine Liturgy*. In its fundamental elements it goes back to the remotest antiquity; traces of it are found in the works of CLEMENT OF

[1] This date has been last maintained by FUNK in his treatise, "*Theologie und Zeit des Pseudo-Ignatius*" (*Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandl.*, III, 1907, 298 ff.). He is of opinion, and rightly so, that the author is an Apollinarist, and that he could hardly have composed his work till towards the end of the fourth century. Others *e. g.*, ADOLF HARNACK, JÜLICHER, and ZAHN, consider the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions* a semi-Arian, and hence date the work a little earlier. AMELUNGK (*Untersuchungen über Pseudo-Ignatius*, 1899) ascribes the work to the middle of the fourth century. But all agree that the author of the *Constitutions* is also the author of the Pseudo-Ignatian letters, and that the Pseudo-Ignatius is the same as the Pseudo-Clement.

ROME and JUSTIN, and it may possibly be the nucleus of the Roman liturgy.[2]

2. For the last 25 years we have been in possession of a canon which dates back to the earliest or Apostolic times. I mean chapters 9 and 10 of "*The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*" (DIDACHE), composed towards the end of the first century and first published in 1883. As regards the character of the prayers contained therein, there is considerable disagreement. It has even been claimed[3] that they were prayers ordinarily recited at meals, although the author of the DIDACHE more than once remarks that he is treating of the Eucharist. ATHANASIUS also believed that they were simply meal prayers.[4] Several eminent authorities refer the first of these prayers to the agape, and regard the second as a preparation for the reception of the Eucharist.[5] FUNK regards the first prayer (c. 9) as a sort of *ante-communio,* and the second (c. 10) as a *post-communio*.[6] Quite recently, SCHERMANN argued that the first formula (c. 9) was recited at festal meals in the family circle, while the second (c. 10) "marks the first step in the later liturgical Eucharistic prayers," and is therefore a real canon.[7] Other writers maintain that both formulas are liturgical prayers pertaining to the Eucharist, *i. e.,* canon prayers,[8] and

[2] DREWS (*Untersuchungen über die sogen. klementinische Lit. im achten Buche der Apost. Konst.,* 1900) has made this probable.

[3] By LADEUZE, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien,* 1902, 1 ff.

[4] *De Virginitate,* c. 13. That this treatise is really the work of ATHANASIUS has been shown by VON DER GOLTZ (*Texte u. Untersuch., N.F.,* XIV, 2, 1905).

[5] ZAHN, *Forschungen zur Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons,* III, 293 ff., and DUCHESNE, *Bull. Critique,* 1884, 385.

[6] In his large edition of the *Doctrina Duodecim Apostolorum* (1887), 26 ff., and later in the second edition of his *Patres Apostolici,* I (1901), p. 20. In the last-named book, p. 25, he inconsistently explains a phrase in the second prayer (εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, etc.) thus: "*Cum autem verba pars orationis eucharisticae sint et postea etiam de eucharistia agatur, potius de accessu ad sacram cenam intelligenda esse videntur.*"

[7] *Die Gebete der Didache c. 9 und 10. Veröffentl. aus dem kirchenhistor. Seminar München,* III, 1, 1907.

[8] DUCHESNE, *Origines du Culte Chrétien,* 1889, p. 42 f.; HARNACK,

this view is the only correct one. The redactor of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VII, 26) understood the prayers in this sense and adapted them to his age. These prayers of the DIDACHE possess both an archaic and a mystical character, and were, without doubt, modelled on the prayers recited by the Jews at their meals. The fact that formulas of praise are scattered throughout the second prayer, and that the concluding sentences are rather abrupt, would seem to justify the conclusion that they were a sort of antiphonary recited by priest and people alternately.[9] The prayers read as follows:[10]

Did., c. 9: "On the Eucharist. Give thanks, therefore. First as regards the cup.[11] We give thee thanks, our Father, for the blessed vine of David, thy servant,[12] which thou hast revealed to us through Jesus, thy servant; to thee be glory forever and ever. Then as regards the bread that has been broken: We give thee thanks, our Father, for the life and the knowledge which thou hast revealed to us through Jesus, thy servant; to thee be glory forever and ever. Even as this broken bread was scattered on the hills but was gathered into one, so may tny Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever and ever. Let no one eat or drink your Eucharist, except those who are baptized in the name of the Lord; for the Lord says: Give not that which is holy to the dogs."

Chronologie, I, p. 430; A. BAUMSTARK in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1904, p. 137; DREWS in *Realenzykl.*, V, p. 563; H. KOCH in *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1907, p. 492 ff.; STRUCKMANN, *Die Gegenwart Christi*, 1905, p. 4; BATIFFOL, *Études* II, 3rd ed., 1906, p. 108; WIELAND, *Mensa u. Conf.*, 1906, p. 11.

[9] This was first perceived by P. BOCK, S.J. (in Serajevo); see his essay, "*Didache IX, X*" in the *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1909, 417 ff., 667 ff., especially the latter. In regard to the general character of this prayer, he writes, (p. 418): "To-day it is practically the universal teaching of Catholic patrologists that these are mass-prayers, the Eucharistic character of which can no longer be denied."

[10] The Greek text in my *Floril. Patrist.*, I (1904).

[11] At solemn Jewish meals, the blessing of the wine preceded the blessing of the bread. Cf. VON DER GOLTZ, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (1901), p. 293.

[12] CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA calls the wine the blood of the vine of David (*Quis dives*, c. 29). ORIGEN (*Hom. in Judic.*, VI, 2) designates Christ as the vine which springs from the root of David.

Did., c. 10: After the meal,[13] give thanks thus: We give thanks to thee, O holy Father, for thy sacred name, for which thou hast prepared a dwelling place in our hearts, and for the truth, the faith, and the immortality, which thou hast revealed to us through Jesus, thy servant; to thee be glory forever and ever! Thou, O omnipotent Lord, hast created all things for thy name's sake, thou hast given man food and drink in order that he might thank thee, but us thou hast blessed with spiritual food and drink, and life eternal, by thy servant. Above all, we give thee thanks because thou art mighty;[14] thine be glory forever and ever!

Remember, O Lord, thy holy Church, to deliver it from all evil, to perfect it in thy love, grant that it may be one to the uttermost parts of the earth, hallowed in thy kingdom which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory forever and ever. Let grace come and let the earth pass away.[15] Hosannah to the God of David. If any one be holy, let him come forth;[16] if he is not, let him do penance. Maran atha.[17] Amen. Let the prophets thank God as they will.[18]

3. In regard to the prayer of consecration used in the *second century*, we have, in the writings of St. Justin, a valuable allusion showing that even at this early date there was in use a formula very much like the one mentioned later in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions. Justin writes (*Apol.*, I, 65): "There is then [after the common prayer of the faithful and the brotherly kiss] brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he, taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers a lengthy prayer of thanks for our being counted worthy to receive

[13] Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι.

[14] *Apoc.* 11, 17.

[15] The first Christians not only believed that the end of the world was imminent, but they even prayed that it should not be delayed (Tert., *De Orat.*, 5).

[16] To Christ, who shall come again at the end of the world, not to holy communion.

[17] These same Aramaic words (May our Lord come) are found in 1 *Cor.* 16, 22.

[18] That is to say, they are not bound to any fixed forms.

these things at His hands. When he has concluded the prayers and the thanksgiving, all the people present express their assent by saying, Amen. This word in Hebrew means, *so be it*. And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, they who are called by us deacons, give to each of those present of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and carry away a portion to those who are absent."

4. In 1899, WOBBERMIN [19] published his *Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens*, from a manuscript of the eleventh century, which he had discovered in the monastery of Lawra on Mt. Athos. These texts had already been published in 1894 by a learned Russian at Kiew, but attracted no attention. The whole collection comprises thirty liturgical prayers constituting an euchologium or sacramentary. Two of the fragments bear the name of SERAPION, bishop of Thmuis in Lower Egypt, an intimate friend and staunch defender of ATHANASIUS, from which fact WOBBERMIN concluded that the whole collection, as we now have it, may be traced to him. Later research confirmed this conclusion. It has also been established that SERAPION must have been merely the *compiler* of the collection, and that the majority of the fragments, in whole or in part, go back to an earlier date, to the third century at the very earliest. This is especially true of the first and most important of the fragments, which bears the title, "*Sacrificial Prayer of Bishop Serapion* (εὐχὴ προσφόρου Σεραπίωνος ἐπισκόπου). This is a canon prayer resembling the Alexandrian liturgy of St. Mark, or, as the Greeks call it, an *anaphora* (ἀναφορά). It begins with the preface of the mass, which in the early ages was al-

[19] *Texte u. Untersuch.*, edited by GEBHARDT and HARNACK, *N.F.*, II, 3 b.

ways considered a part of the canon. Deeper and more systematic study has been given this prayer by DREWS[20] and BAUMSTARK.[21] The latter has sought to resolve it into its primitive elements and to classify them according to their order and origin.

I transcribe the whole prayer, both because of its importance (for, with the exception of the Didache, it is the most ancient and best preserved of the canons), and because it is not within easy reach of all.[22] Some light will be shed on the text by the appended footnotes.

1. "It is meet and just to praise thee, to sing and glorify thee, the uncreated Father of thine only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ. 2. We praise thee, O uncreated God, inscrutable, unspeakable, incomprehensible to all created nature. 3. We praise thee, thou 'who art known by thine only begotten son,'[23] and who hast been made manifest, explained and revealed by Him to all created nature. 4. We praise thee, 'who dost know the son'[24] and dost manifest His glory to the saints, thee, who art known and contemplated by the Word generated by thee, and who art revealed to the saints. 5. We praise thee, invisible Father, author of immortality; thou art the fountain of life, the source of light, the font of all grace and truth,[25] thou lover of mankind and the poor, who hast pity on all and dost 'draw'[26] them to thee by the advent of thy beloved Son.

6. "We pray thee, make us living men; give us the spirit of light, that we may 'know thee the true [God],[27] and Him whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ;' give us the Holy Spirit, that we

[20] *Über Wobbermins altchristliche liturg. Stücke aus der Kirche Ägyptens,* in the *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschich.,* XX (1900), 291 ff., 415 ff.

[21] *Die Anaphora von Thmuis,* in the *Röm. Quartalschr.,* 1904, 123 ff.

[22] The Greek text of the whole collection appears in FUNK (*Discalia,* I, 1906, 158 ff.). FUNK has changed the arrangement of the prayers, so that the anaphora occupies the thirteenth place. A Latin translation is also added. The Greek text of the anaphora according to FUNK's edition, I have translated into Latin, in my *Floril. Patrist.,* fasc. 7, 25–29. For the Greek text see also DREWS (*op. cit.,* 305 ff., with a German translation) and BAUMSTARK (*op. cit.,* p. 124 ff.).

[23] *Luke* 10, 22.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *John* 1, 14.

[26] *John* 6, 44.

[27] Here Θεόν can be supplied in accordance with *John* 17, 3.

may be able to preach and explain thine ineffable mysteries. 7. Let the Lord Jesus and the Holy Spirit speak in us, and He shall glorify thee through us.

8. "For thou art 'above all principality and power and virtue and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come.'[28] 9. 'Thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand stand before thee,'[29] angels, archangels, 'thrones, powers, dominations, principalities, and virtues;'[30] before thee stand the two most glorious seraphim, 'with six wings, covering their face with two, and their feet with two; flying with two and proclaiming thee holy.'[31] 10. With them accept also our adoration, for we say: 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory.'[32]

11. "Heaven is full, the earth is also full of thy sublime glory, O Lord of hosts. Extend thy power upon this sacrifice, and grant thy aid (*μετάληψις*) to its fulfilment; for it is to thee that we have offered this living victim, the unbloody sacrifice. 12. To thee have we offered this bread, the likeness (*ὁμοίωμα*)[33] of the body of thine only Son. This bread is the image of His holy body; for 'the Lord Jesus on the night in which He was betrayed, took bread, broke it, and gave it to His disciples and said: Take and eat, this is my body, which shall be broken for you,'[34] for the remission of sins. 13. Therefore have we, by repeating the figure of His death, offered the bread and pray: By this sacrifice reconcile thyself with us all and have mercy upon us, O God of truth. And as this bread was scattered upon the hills and brought together into one, so do thou unite thy holy Church[35] from every people and every land and every city

[28] *Eph.* 1, 21.

[29] *Dan.* 7, 10 (according to the LXX; the Vulgate reads, *milia milium ministrabant ei et deciens milliens centena millia*).

[30] *Col.* 1, 16.

[31] *Is.* 6, 2.

[32] *Is.* 6, 3. The *Epistle* of St. Clement to the *Corinthians* (34, 6) had already placed together the two Biblical passages, *Dan.* 7, 10 and *Is.* 6, 3. This association, as Drews rightly remarks (p. 320), must have been borrowed from liturgical use.

[33] In the fourth century the usual phrase applied to the Eucharist was *ἀντίτυπον* or *σύμβολον*, scarcely ever *ὁμοίωμα*. Ὁμοίωμα often means appearance or form, *v. g. Ez.* 8, 2 (LXX): *ὁμοίωμα ἀνδρός*. According to Plato (*Parmen.*, 132 d) ideas have their earthly *ὁμοιώματα*, *i. e.*, upon earth they have their analogous representations in material things. In our passage, the Eucharistic elements are called *ὁμοιώματα* of the flesh and blood of Christ because they represent Christ's death; for in No. 13 we have *τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ θανάτου*.

[34] 1 *Cor.* 11, 23 f.

[35] *Didache*, 9, 4.

and every village and house, and build up one living Catholic Church. 14. We have also offered the chalice, the symbol of the blood; for the Lord Jesus, 'after He had supped, took the cup and said to His disciples: Take, drink, this is the new covenant, which is my blood, which shall be shed for the remission of sins.'[36] Therefore have we also offered the chalice, because we have consummated the symbol of the blood.

15. "Let[37] thy holy Word (Λόγος), O God of truth, come down upon this bread,[38] so that the bread may become the body of the Word, and on this chalice, so that the chalice may become the blood of Truth. And grant that all who partake of them, may receive the medicine of life, as a cure for all sickness and as an increase and progress in virtue, not, however, as a judgment, O God of truth, nor as a punishment and disgrace.

16. "For we have besought thee,[39] O uncreated God, through thy only-begotten [Son] in the Holy Spirit: Have mercy on this nation, make it worthy of increase, send forth angels to assist the people in overcoming evil and to strengthen the community. 17. We also pray for those who are asleep, of whom we also make commemoration. 18. (After the mention of their names.) Sanctify these souls, for thou knowest them all. Sanctify those who have died in the Lord, number them among thy holy principalities and grant them a place and a dwelling in thy kingdom!

19. "Likewise accept[40] the thanks of thy people, and bless those who have offered gifts and prayers of thanks to thee, and give health and strength, joy and prosperity to the soul and the bodies of this whole people, through Jesus Christ, thine only Son, in the Holy Ghost, as it was, and is, and shall be from generation to generation for all eternity.[41] Amen."

5. Dr. Bickell, in his book, *Messe und Pascha* (Mainz, 1872) attempted to prove *that the divine service of the early Church* corresponded to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and consequently must have

[36] 1 *Cor.* 11, 25 f.; *Mt.* 26, 27 f.

[37] This section is the *epiclesis*.

[38] That the Logos and not the Holy Ghost is called down upon the bread and the chalice, is only found in this *epiclesis* and in Athanasius (Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Coll.*, IX, 625).

[39] Here the *memento* for the living and the dead begins.

[40] The same petition follows the prayer for the dead in the liturgy of Mark.

[41] The liturgy of Mark, the Church ordo of the Egyptians (II, 24), and other Oriental liturgies have the same conclusion.

borne a close resemblance to the rite of the Paschal meal. He has been generally followed by Catholics and partly also by Protestants. Four cups were prescribed by the ritual of the Paschal meal, two before and two after the meal; the third and fourth cups were handed around with particular ceremony, and it is generally believed that the fourth cup at the Lord's Supper was the Eucharistic one. This fourth cup was known as the *Hallel-cup,* for just before it was passed around the Hallel Psalms 114–117 (Heb. 115–118) and 135 (Heb. 136) were chanted. In *Ps.* 117 (Heb. 118) we read (v, 25 f.): "Hosanna, blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord;" the 135th (Heb. 136) Psalm, however, is a glorification of God for the benefits of creation and for the miracles which He wrought on behalf of His people in the desert. BICKELL (p. 75) based his thesis of the relation of the Last Supper to the celebration of the Jewish Pasch chiefly on the following arguments: (a) the words, "Hosanna, blessed be, etc.," are found in the early liturgies of the mass; (b) the preface of the mass, as embodied in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VIII, 12) is similar in content to *Ps.* 135; (c) the Paschal rite contained a prayer which closely resembles the first Eucharistic prayer of the Didache (c. 9).

More recently, however, *the derivation of the canon of the mass from the ritual of the Jewish Pasch has been sharply contested.* In his article "Eucharistie," in the *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie* (3rd ed., V, 563), DREWS denounces BICKELL's attempt as "a bold prevarication of the facts"[42] and adds: "It appears to me most probable that the early Christians freely followed the most common form of

[42] How DREWS (*loc. cit.*) can say that Bickell's theory is the product of *dogmatic prejudice,* I cannot conceive; dogma has nothing to do with it.

the Jewish religious meal, *viz.:* the Sabbath meal as celebrated on Friday and at the break of the Sabbath in every Jewish home, and the main features of which appear from the *Mishnah.*" Von der Goltz, in his book, *Tischgebete und Abendmahlsgebete in der altchristlichen und der griechischen Kirche* (1905) [43] has developed Drews' thesis. He reproduces the meal prayers found in the Jewish prayer-books of to-day, which are substantially the same as those in the tract *b'rakhoth* of the Babylonian Talmud and which are recited at meals at the pre-Sabbath and on the Sabbath itself, most solemnly at the Paschal banquet.

Before each of these meals the head of the family blesses bread and wine, or bread alone. As regards the sequence of the various blessings this was controverted even in antiquity. Shammaï puts the blessing of the wine first, whilst Hillel gives precedence to the blessing of the bread. The blessing of the bread is as follows: *"Blessed be thou, Lord our God, who bringest forth the bread from the earth";* that of the wine: *"Blessed be thou, Lord our God, who hast created the fruit of the vine."* After each blessing, the father tastes the bread and then passes it on to the guests. As a rule, a portion of the blessed bread is reserved for the end of the meal, and likewise a cup with wine, called the "cup of Elias." All this precedes the repast proper.

At the end of the meal the father pronounces the solemn blessing. Strangers, slaves, women and minors are not allowed to be present. In this blessing, the Jews thanked God for the food and drink and for the land of Palestine; invoked His mercy upon Jerusalem, and finally praised Him for all benefits as "the good God and beneficent One," and besought Him to send the prophet Elias and to hasten the coming of the

[43] *Texte u. Unters., N.F.,* XIV, 2 b.

Messias. Very often "Amen" was said in response to these prayers. Sometimes the formula used was: "May we not want for food, forever and ever," and all answered, "For the sake of His mighty name." Then again bread and wine were presented to the guests and they partook of both. The ceremony was substantially the same at the Paschal meal, only that it was more solemn; in particular the Hallel Psalms were sung and four cups passed around.

It cannot be denied that *the celebration of the Eucharist,* as recorded in the Didache, bears a striking resemblance to the ritual of the Jewish festal meals. First, according to the Didache, the bread and wine were blessed by means of formulas very much like those employed by the Jews. Then follows the meal proper. This closed with the great prayer of thanksgiving, which, like the great Jewish table blessing, had a distinctly eschatological character. It is only in this last prayer that mention is made of the body and blood of Christ ("spiritual food and drink"), and very probably it was only after this prayer was said that the Eucharistic elements were distributed, just as the bread which was reserved and the cup which was set aside were distributed after the great blessing among the Jews. If this was the method of procedure anciently followed in the celebration of the Eucharist, it is easy to understand how in the second century the first part of the ceremony, the agape or common meal, could have been separated from it. It is then also clear that the agape, as we glean from the Egyptian Church ordinances, bore a close resemblance to the celebration of the Last Supper, and like it was called "the Lord's meal" (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον). But it seems to me improbable on *a priori* grounds that the Christians, in their frequent celebration of the Eucharist, should have made use of the solemn liturgy of the Jewish

Paschal meal, which took place but once a year. The reasons put forward by BICKELL prove little. I think that the *celebration of the Eucharist, generally speaking, corresponded to the ceremony of the ordinary Sabbath meals rather than to that of the Paschal banquet.*

6. The great difference existing between the *Roman Canon* of the Mass on the one hand, and the *anaphora* of the Greek liturgy, which represents the oldest form of the canon known to us, has long attracted attention. Even in the Western Church, the Roman Canon occupied a place apart, for the Gallican and Mozarabic (in Spain) liturgies, and also the Ambrosian in its older form, approach much nearer the Oriental liturgies than they do to the Roman. Of late years, *the origin of the Roman Canon has been the subject of a lively controversy,* which has not yet been settled.

The first step in this dispute was the publication of a small work,[44] by PROFESSOR DREWS, of Giessen, in which he undertook *to prove that the original arrangement of the Roman Canon differed from the one it shows now.* He contended that the prayers *"Hanc igitur oblationem"* to *"Supplices te rogamus"* (inclusively) marked the beginning, and the *"Te igitur"* down to *"Communicantes"* (inc.) were added latter, so that originally the memento for the living and the dead stood side by side and followed the consecration.[45] The reconstruction of the Canon in its present shape, he says, occurred after the pontificate of INNOCENT I. (d. 417), probably under GELASIUS I. (492–496) and under Alexandrian and Milanese influences; for it is peculiar to the Alexandrian liturgy, or liturgy of St. Mark, that the whole intercessory prayer, includ-

[44] *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons der röm. Messe* (1902).

[45] WATTERICH (*Der Konsekrationsmoment im heiligen Abendmahl,* 1896, p. 149) had given expression to the same opinion some years before, but he had not followed it up.

ing the memento for the dead,[46] precedes the words of institution. The Church of Milan, as St. Ambrose informs us (*Ep.*, 12, 6), always followed the Alexandrine liturgy. Drews appealed in defence of his position to *three main arguments*. (a) The Roman Canon, as we have it, "because of its illogical and evidently composite structure," cannot be the original one. (b) A comparison of the Roman Canon with the anaphora of Jerusalem (*i. e.* the Syrian liturgy of St. James), though revealing a strong resemblance between the two, yet leads to the conclusion that the present Roman Canon represents a re-arrangement of the original material. (c) A passage in a letter of Pope Innocent I. to the bishop of Eugubium (*Gubbio*) in Umbria, written in the year 416, proves that the Roman Canon of his time was not identical with the present one.

Funk *rejected* Drews' *theory*. In a lengthy treatise [47] he conceded that the Roman Canon in its present form is not original, but denied the influence of the Alexandrine and Milanese liturgy on that of Rome, which latter, he claims, bears but a remote resemblance to the Syrian liturgy. This resemblance, he says, "is confined to a few fragmentary prayers, and these, as is evident from the citation given above, have not the finished form of the Roman, but between the different passages which may be considered as parallel, there are many others." [48] But above all, Funk assigned to the passage from the epistle of Innocent I. a different meaning from that which Drews saw in it, and declared the arguments of the latter to be "partly invalid and partly insufficient."

[46] This is only true of the later Alexandrine liturgy, however, for in the third and fourth centuries, as is evidenced by the canon published by Wobbermin, the memento for the dead came after the words of institution in the Egyptian liturgy.

[47] *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 1903, 62–72; 283–302.

[48] Drews now admits (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1906, 781), that, although the Roman liturgy shows traces of Syrian influence, yet in its original form it belongs to the type of the so-called Clementine liturgy.

From an entirely new view-point the problem was taken up by A. BAUMSTARK, who in 1904 published a separate book on the subject,[49] as DREWS had done in 1902. BAUMSTARK differs with DREWS in many minor points, but agrees with him in his main line of thought, except that he regards POPE GREGORY I., not GELASIUS I., as the author of the present Canon. BAUMSTARK was not led to this conclusion by the researches of DREWS, but had arrived at it himself at an earlier date and was so firmly convinced of its correctness, that he called it an established fact in the *Oriens Christianus* (*Jahrg.* 1903, 220). BAUMSTARK sums up his conclusions as follows (p. 157): *The original Latin form of the Roman Canon is closely related to the anaphora of Jerusalem,* which is preserved both in Greek and Syriac under the name of the liturgy of St. James. This liturgy was enlarged later, probably under LEO I., by the addition of parallel paragraphs, which originated in Ravenna, but bore a close resemblance to the anaphora of Alexandria. GREGORY I., in his efforts to reduce the liturgical texts to reasonable limits, eliminated the duplicate prayers which had arisen from the fusion of the two rites, and in this manner became the author of our present Canon. Thus BAUMSTARK distinguishes three stages in the development of the Roman liturgy.

His deductions made a deep impression on FUNK. In a new article[50] on the subject, he said (p. 604 f.): "BAUMSTARK evinces a truly astonishing familiarity with the old liturgy in its many and diverse ramifications. His work will take an important position in the field of liturgical studies. But the whole problem is too complex *not to leave some doubt on this or that point.* In reading Baumstark's treatise doubts

[49] *Liturgia Romana e Liturgia dell' Esarcato* (Rome).

[50] *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1904, 600 ff.

now and then arose in my mind *on some of his assertions.*" Funk then tries to show that the transformation of the Canon must have taken place before the time of Gregory I.

From these utterances it seemed that Baumstark *had won Dr. Funk over to his main position,* and that he had adopted Drews' thesis in regard to transpositions in the Canon. Drews himself drew this conclusion.[51] But Funk protested against this in the third volume of his *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*[52] (published after his all too early death), in which he reproduced with some modifications his former opinion (p. 85–134). He writes (p. 134): "I have not, it is true, once more expressly rejected the thesis. But the old saying that silence means consent does not hold good unconditionally and without exception." This I cannot understand; for I, too, had understood Funk as approving of the work of Baumstark. In his new edition he has so altered his text that another meaning must be assigned to it. To the words of criticism directed against Baumstark, and quoted above, Funk now adds: "The process of evolution traced out for the Roman liturgy is highly improbable; the arguments adduced in its support are open to serious objections."

What are we to think of the whole matter? First of all, it is quite evident that nothing speaks in favor of, but everything against Baumstark's hypothesis that Gregory I. modified the Canon. We are told that Gregory[53] added the words "*diesque nostros in tua pace disponas,*" up to "*numerari.*" This information gives us the impression that Gregory made no further, at least no greater, alterations in the canon.

[51] See his review of Baumstark's work in the *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1906, p. 771 ff., and in *Untersuchungen über die sog. klement. Lit.*, 1906, p. 123.

[52] Paderborn, 1907, p. 134.

[53] Cf. *Liber Pontificalis* and Bede's *H.E.*, II, 1.

Moreover, BAUMSTARK has not proved that in the fifth century, under LEO I., foreign elements made their way from the liturgy of Ravenna into the Roman Canon. He claims to have found the hitherto unknown liturgy of Ravenna in the pseudo-Ambrosian treatise *De Sacramentis*. But in the opinion of DREWS,[54] FUNK,[55] and MORIN [56] these are all air-castles. If DREWS is right in regard to the transpositions in the Canon, it may also be admitted that POPE GELASIUS I. was the one who brought them about. For we know that GELASIUS composed a Roman missal; it has come down to us, with many later additions, under the name of *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*. DREWS' opinion is supported by the fact that in the *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, which in its present form probably dates back to the end of the fifth century, the mass for Pentecost [57] has the prayer *Hanc igitur* before *Communicantes;* for it may well have happened that the primitive arrangement was preserved in this particular mass. DREWS and BAUMSTARK have also appealed to a passage in a letter of POPE CELESTINE I. to the EMPEROR THEODOSIUS II., written in the year 432. It reads: [58] *"Ecce nunc domus Domini orationibus vacant, et vestrum per omnes ecclesias Deo nostro oblatis sacrificiis commendant imperium."* By *"oblatis sacrificiis"* must be understood the Canon, rather than the offertory,[59] and the passage shows that at that time the petition for the emperor, and hence the general memento for the living, followed the consecration, coming immediately after the prayer *"Unde et memores."* In order to escape this conclusion, FUNK says that the expression *"oblatis sacri-*

[54] *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1906, p. 784 ff.
[55] *Kirchengeschicht. Abhandl.*, III, 134.
[56] *Revue Bénéd.*, 1905, 378.
[57] Migne, *P.L.*, LV, 40.
[58] *P.L.*, L, 544.
[59] This is confirmed by Boniface I. in a letter to Emperor Honorius (A. D. 420) (Hardouin, I, 1237): *"Ecce enim inter ipsa mysteria, inter preces suas, quas [populus christianus] pro vestra felicitate dependit imperii."*

ficiis" must not be unduly pressed, because it may well refer to the whole of the Eucharistic worship.

The *greatest difficulty* in the solution of the problem arises from the *above-mentioned passage in the letter* of Pope Innocent I., which is claimed in support of both views, by Funk on the one hand and by Drews and Baumstark on the other. We give the whole text *verbatim:*

"De nominibus vero recitandis, antequam PRECEM *sacerdos faciat atque eorum oblationes, quorum nomina recitanda sunt,* SUA ORATIONE COMMENDET, *quam superfluum sit, et ipse pro tua prudentia recognoscis, ut cuius hostiam necdum offeras, eius ante nomen insinues, quamvis illi incognitum sit nihil. Prius ergo oblationes sunt commendandae ac tunc eorum nomina, quorum sunt, edicanda, ut inter* SACRA MYSTERIA *nominentur, non inter alia, quae ante praemittimus, ut* IPSIS MYSTERIIS *viam futuris precibus aperiamus."*

"Precem" as well as *"sacra mysteria"* clearly refers to the Canon.[60] But what is the meaning of the twice repeated phrase *"oblationes commendare"?* Funk refers these words to the prayer *Te igitur* at the beginning of the Canon, Drews and Baumstark to the consecration. The expression does in fact occur in the Mozarabic liturgy in the meaning of "to consecrate,"[61] on the other hand, however, it occurs repeatedly in a different sense in the *secreta* of the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum.*[62] Which interpretation is the correct one cannot be determined with certainty, *though the view of* Drews *appears to be the more probable* because, in the contrary hypothesis, the con-

[60] Drews claims (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1906, 779) that Funk makes the words *"sacra mysteria"* refer to the prayer *Te igitur* alone. But this is not true. Funk clearly says (*Kirchengesch. Abhandl.*, III, 93): "The expression *sacra mysteria* indicates the Eucharist in the strict sense of the word, the canon or that which is designated in the beginning of the passage by *prex.*"

[61] *P.L.*, LXXXV, 205.

[62] Funk, *Kirchengesch. Abhandl.*, III, 94.

trast between the Roman and the Gubbio practice would amount to practically nothing; secondly, because the phrase "*ipsis mysteriis*" at the end of the passage can not apply to the prayer *Te igitur* at the beginning of the Canon, and it therefore seems permissible to apply it to the consecration.

Hence, though the question cannot be definitively decided, *there is so much to be said in favor of Drews' thesis that it may be provisionally held as the right one.* We must assume that somewhere between the years 400 and 500, important transpositions took place in the Roman Canon.[63]

§ 6. The Epiclesis

1. *In all the Greek liturgies,* even the most ancient, (that of SERAPION), the narrative of the institution of the Eucharist is followed by the so-called epiclesis, that is, a prayer in which the Holy Ghost is invoked and asked to change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, in order that they who partake of the Holy Eucharist may receive eternal life. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* the epiclesis reads as follows: "Send thy Holy Spirit upon this oblation, as a witness of the passion of the Lord Jesus, that He may change this bread into the body of thy Christ, and this drink into the blood of thy Christ, in order that they who partake of it may be strengthened in virtue, obtain remission of their sins, etc." (VIII, 12, 39.) In the fifth century, the epiclesis was in general use in *the Western as well as the Eastern Church.* We find it in the Gallican and Mozarabic liturgies as well as in the Ambrosian and the Roman.[1] As regards the

[63] Cf. on this question, CABROL, *Le Canon Romain de la Messe* (*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques,* 1909, 490–524.

[1] It appears in the oldest Gallican masses published by MONE, and in many mass formulas of the Mozarabic *Missale mixtum.* It disappeared from the Milanese mass only in the eighth century (*Röm. Quartalschrift,* 1903, p. 248). All scholars admit that it is found in

latter, its inclusion is explicitly mentioned in a *letter of Pope Gelasius I.* (492–496) *to Elpidius, bishop of Verona.*[2]

2. *The epiclesis did not originally form part of the ritual,* but found its way into it at a later date.[3] It is not necessary to infer this from the remark of Pope Gregory I., that the Apostles consecrated by means of the *Pater noster,*[4]— an assertion which is unsupported by earlier witnesses. It has become quite common to point to St. Irenæus *as the first witness to the existence of the epiclesis.*[5] *This view of the case I must oppose.* The occurrence of the epiclesis in orthodox circles in the first three centuries cannot be proved.[6] The first fully developed epiclesis is contained in *the canon of the mass of Serapion of Thmuis*

the early Roman liturgy (cf. Funk, *op. cit.,* III, 86).

[2] *Epist. Rom. Pont.,* ed. Thiel, I, 486 (fragm. 7, 2): "*Nam quomodo ad divini mysterii consecrationem caelestis spiritus invocatus adveniet, si sacerdos et qui eum adesse deprecatur, criminosis plenus actionibus reprobetur?*"

[3] Cf. Schermann, *Römische Quartalschrift,* 1903, 248 ff., and Drews, *Realenzyk. f. prot. Theol.,* V, 409 ff.

[4] *Ep. ad Joan. Syracus.:* "*Orationem vero dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent.*" Because of this declaration, Amalarius, in the ninth century, claimed that the *Pater noster* was sufficient for consecration.

[5] Thus Drews, *op. cit.,* V, 412, and Buchwald, *Die Epiklese in der römischen Messe* (*Weidenauer Studien,* I, 1906, pp. 21–56), 29 f. The latter denies only that Irenæus was the first to bear witness to the invocation of the Holy Ghost. The work of Buchwald, in its first part, is good, but the bold combinations which he attempts in the second part, where he treats of the canon of the mass in the pseudo-Ambrosian treatise *De Sacramentis,* I cannot subscribe to in many points.

[6] It is true that Irenæus states that the ἐπίκλησις τοῦ θεοῦ consecrates (*Adv. Haer.,* IV, 18, 5), but he means by this term the whole thanksgiving prayer, for in another passage (V, 2, 3) he substitutes for ἐπίκλησις a λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ and he also says (IV, 18, 4): "*panis, in quo gratiae actae sunt*" (*i. e.* ἄρτος εὐχαριστηθείς), just as Justin (*Apol.,* I, 65). Firmilian also (in Cypr., *Ep.,* 75, 10) is named as a witness for the epiclesis by Drews, but it is the same with him as with Irenæus. The passage in question is: "*Hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet et sacrificium Domino sine sacramento solitae praedicationis offerret.*" A kind of epiclesis is mentioned for the first time in the *Acta S. Thomae* (ed. Bonnet, p. 35 f.), which belong to the first half of the third century.

(*supra,* 103 f.), but here it is not *the Holy Ghost, but the Logos who is invoked upon the bread and wine.* The invocation of the Logos appears to be the oldest form of epiclesis.[7] It was only after the speculations concerning the Holy Ghost occasioned by the Trinitarian controversies of the fourth century, that the miracle of consecration was ascribed to Him.[8]

3. The question of the epiclesis played an important part *in the negotiations for reunion at the Council of* Florence, in 1439. The Latins, with POPE EUGENE IV., demanded that the Greeks profess that the consecration takes place in virtue of the words of institution, and that the epiclesis does not enter "into the essence of the consecration." The Greeks refused to accede to this demand, but they were not unanimous. It seems most of them ascribed the power of consecration to the words of institution in conjunction with the epiclesis. Finally, the Pope contented himself with the verbal declaration of the Archbishop of

[7] DR. HÖLLER, in the *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift,* Linz, 1909, p. 620 f., disputes this assertion, which is held also by BUCHWALD (*op. cit.,* 30 f.). He appeals to the *Clementine Liturgy,* in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions,* and also to the *Syrian Liturgy of St. James.* In both the Holy Ghost, and not the Logos, is called down upon the Eucharistic elements. But the *Clementine Liturgy* dates back, in its present form, to the end of the fourth century. True, DREWS is right when he writes (*Die klement. Lit.,* Tübingen, 1906, p. 159) that "the primitive type of the Clementine Liturgy is of great antiquity." But this is only true of "the primitive type," and not of its present form. The same is true of the liturgy of St. James, which up to the year 450 underwent additions and changes. (PROBST, *Liturgie der drei ersten christl. Jahrhunderte,* Tübingen, 1870, 236.) On the other hand, the anaphora of SERAPION, in which the Logos-epiclesis is found, belongs to the first half of the fourth century, and at about the same time ST. ATHANASIUS (see A. MAI, *Script. Vet. Nova Coll.,* IX, 625) bears witness to the fact that at the prayer of thanksgiving the Logos descends upon the bread and wine. In an old Milanese mass for Maundy Thursday, God the Father is besought to send His Son and dispense His body for our salvation (see MURATORI, *Liturgia Romana Vetus,* I, 134).

[8] JUSTIN (*Apol.* 1, 33) sees the Logos even in the "*spiritus sanctus*" and the "*virtus altissimi,*" which, according to *Luke* 1, 35, was to overshadow the B. V. Mary.

Nicea, later CARDINAL BESSARION, that the words of institution possess the whole power of transubstantiation. But this declaration was forced from the Greeks by the circumstances. Just as soon as they had returned to their own country, opposition made itself felt, and the most vehement of the opponents of the union, MARKOS EUGENIKOS, Archbishop of Ephesus, wrote a book to prove that the words of institution, as contained in the canon, are merely a historical narrative, and that the change takes place through the descent of the Holy Ghost invoked by the priest. This doctrine was inculcated in 1672, by the Synod of Jerusalem, whose decrees are universally acknowledged as authoritative by the Orientals. It is found in "the Orthodox Confession" of PETROS MOGILAS adopted by that council and which is still held in high esteem by the Greeks.[9] The Russian Church demands at the consecration of bishops a sworn profession of belief that the consecration "takes place by the descent and operation of the Holy Ghost through the episcopal or priestly epiclesis." Nevertheless the Orientals are not at one in this doctrine, for the Russian priest GOEKEN, collaborator with PROVOST MALTZEW in Berlin, declared in the Innsbruck *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (1897 p. 372 ff.) that, according to the opinion of the majority of the modern theologians of the Greek Church, the epiclesis together with the words of institution constitute an inseparable whole for the

[9] MICHALCESCU, *Die Bekenntnisse und wichtigsten Glaubenszeugnisse der griechisch-orientalischen Kirche*, 1904, p. 72, no. 107. Here we read that the transubstantiation takes place *διὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὗ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν κάμει τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην*. Then follows the present-day epiclesis of the liturgy of St. Chrysostom: *Κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα· καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ*. Then is added: *Μετὰ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἡ μετουσίωσις παρευθὺς γίνεται*.

[10] So also MALTZEW, *Liturgikon* (1892), p. 426–429, and MAKARIOS,

purpose of consecration.[10] *In the Greek Church there is no elevation* of the consecrated species at the words of institution, but only a slight elevation at the words, "the holy to those that are holy (τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις)," which follows the *Pater noster. The epiclesis is pronounced more solemnly than the words of institution.* In the Western Church the elevation *at the words of institution,* as we know it, was introduced in the twelfth century, subsequent to the errors of Berengarius, in Germany and Rome at an even later date.[11]

4. The Western Church is unanimous *in regard to the moment of consecration.* She teaches that the consecration takes place by means of the words which the officiating priest speaks in the name of Christ, to wit: "This is my body, this is my blood." *There is no dogmatic definition of the Church on this point, but the doctrine, as stated, is theologically certain.* It is contained in the decree addressed to the Armenians after the Council of Florence by Pope Eugene IV. It is found in the Roman Catechism and in the Missal, and clearly underlies the custom of elevating the sacred species after these words have been pronounced. A few Catholic theologians of note argue that the epiclesis has a share in effecting the consecration. Among these may be numbered Touttée in his edition of the works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Renaudot, the French editor of the Oriental liturgies, and especially Fr. Lebrun of the Oratory. Schell *went even farther;* he asserted that the form of the sacrament of the Eucharist, according to the Latin rite, is contained in the words of institution, whilst according to the Greek

Archbishop of Lithuania, in his *Handbuch zum Studium der orthodox-dogmatischen Theologie* (trans. into German by Blumenthal), p. 326 f.

[11] On the lifting of the Host read the interesting articles by Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., in the London *Tablet,* October 19 and Nov. 2, 1907: The Lifting of the Host; Seeing the Host; Genuflection at Mass. (Tr. N.)

and Oriental liturgies it *is constituted by the epiclesis.*[12]

Another question is, *How did Christ Himself consecrate at the Last Supper?* Pope Innocent III., in a work on the mass which he composed before his elevation to the papal chair, claimed that Christ in virtue of His divine power may possibly have consecrated before He uttered the words, "This is my body, etc.," and that His only desire in uttering these words was to provide a form whereby those who were to succeed Him might also consecrate.[13] In his splendid volume *Die Epiklesis* (1864), Hoppe gave expression to the view that Christ had consecrated by His "blessing" (εὐχαριστήσας). This opinion was adopted by Watterich,[14] who went so far as to demand that priests even to-day should consecrate by blessing, claiming that the Church in the course of ages had misunderstood the gospel narrative and erroneously placed the power of consecration in the words of Christ or in the epiclesis.[15] According to Watterich the entire Church, both of the Orient and the Occident, erred in regard to the form of consecration.

5. *How, from the Catholic standpoint, are we to explain the epiclesis in the Greek liturgies and in the early Latin liturgies?* At the famous Council of Florence there were current two explanations, which have since been repeated again and again, nothing better being as yet found. The first was given by the Dominican John Torquemada, the papal theologian of the Council. It was later on adopted by Bellarmine.

[12] *Kath. Dogmatik*, III, 1893, p. 539.

[13] *De S. Altaris Mysterio*, IV, 6: "*Sane dici potest, quod Christus virtute divina confecit et postea formam expressit sub qua posteri benedicerent.*"

[14] *Der Konsekrationsmoment im heiligen Abendmahl und seine Geschichte* (1896). At the time of writing, Watterich was a priest of the *Old Catholic* sect, but he was reconciled to the Church before his death.

[15] Schanz replied to Watterich in the *Katholik*, 1896, II, 1–17, 114–137.

When the Holy Ghost is invoked to change the bread into the body of Christ, say these authors, the body referred to is the mystical body of Jesus; through the Holy Ghost the faithful are to be incorporated into the body of Christ, and hence we read in the epiclesis: "Make this bread the body of Christ, *so that they who receive it* may be strengthened to eternal life." Cardinal Bessarion *gave a different explanation.* He claimed that the change takes place by the priest's uttering the words of Christ, but that the Church also desires to express her intention, and as she cannot do this simultaneously, she does it either before or after. Bessarion argued that the epiclesis refers *not to the time in which* but to *the time for which* it is spoken. This explanation found favor in the eyes of most Catholic divines. Within the last few years, P. Lingens, S.J., and Msgr. Gutberlet [16] have developed it and tried to make it more acceptable. These two learned writers point especially to the fact that the Church effects the act of consecration by a series of actions and words "*which follow each other as it were in dramatic sequence,*" and thus places the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost at the end, "to crown as it were the prayers of consecration."

Neither of these explanations is satisfactory.[17] The

[16] Lingens, *Die eucharistische Konsekrationsform,* in the *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.,* 1897, 51 ff.; Gutberlet, in Heinrich's *Dogmatische Theologie,* Vol. IX, 1899, 731 ff.

[17] A third explanation has recently been offered by Dr. Höller (*Theol.-prakt. Quartalschr.,* Linz, 1909, 622 ff.). He starts from the meaning of the word ἀποφαίνειν in the Clementine Liturgy (ἀξιοῦμέν σε, ὅπως . . . καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην . . . ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ τὸ ποτήριον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου [cf. Funk, *Didascalia,* etc., I, 510, and Rauschen, *Floril. Patr.,* VII, 147]). The word ἀποφαίνειν, he contends, does not mean "to make" but "to make clear," "to let appear," "to reveal"; in the epiclesis the Holy Ghost is only besought to let the bread and wine *appear* or *be known* as the body and blood of Christ, that is, to produce conviction. There is no question here either of consecration or change. The same explanation was given earlier by Jos. Al. Assemani (*Cod. Liturg.,* IV, 2, p. 361 f.), H. A. Daniel (*Cod. Liturg.,*

first is irrelevant, for as a matter of fact in all the liturgies the Holy Ghost is invoked in the epiclesis for the express purpose of consecrating. The second is open to grave objections. If the words of consecration alone would effect the change, we should naturally expect that the petition that this take place *would precede* it, and yet we find that *in all the Oriental liturgies the epiclesis follows the words of institution,* and formerly had this position also in the Roman Canon, as we remarked above (p. 90). Again, if the primitive Church was convinced that the words of institution effected the consecration, why was the epiclesis inserted into all her liturgies in the fourth century? And why was it expunged from the Roman and the Milanese? This elimination, as SCHANZ rightly remarks,[18] can be explained on no other hypothesis than that the epiclesis could not well be reconciled to the teaching that consecration is effected by the words of institution. After examining the various explanations of the epiclesis, THALHOFER frankly admits:[19] "If we adhere to the traditional form of the epiclesis, *there remains the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of giving a perfectly satisfactory explanation.*" ALOYS SCHMID asks:[20] "Why does the Church in so many different liturgies formally petition for consecration if consecration has already been effected?" He answers

IV, 412), PROBST (*Lit. der drei ersten Jahrh.*, 398), HEFELE (*Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1845, 203) and BICKELL (*Messe u. Pascha*, p. 138). But it is worthless. For in the older liturgy of SERAPION we have instead of ἀποφήνῃ the clear expression, ἵνα γένηται ὁ ἄρτος σῶμα τοῦ λόγου . . . ἵνα γένηται τὸ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς ἀληθείας, and just as clearly CYRIL OF JERUSALEM writes: ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ (RAUSCHEN, *Floril. Patr.*, VII, 63). The liturgies of the fifth century contain similar expressions, — a circumstance of little importance. In the Greek liturgy of ST. JAMES, we read, ἵνα ἁγιάσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ (DANIEL 4, 114), in the liturgy of ST. MARK, ἵνα ἁγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ (*ib.* 162), and in the liturgy of ST. CHRYSOSTOM, ποίησον . . . μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ (*ib.* 359).

[18] *Katholik*, 1896, II, 135.

[19] *Handbuch der kath. Liturgik*, II, 1890, p. 235.

[20] Art. "Epiklese" in Herder's *Kirchenlexikon*, 2nd ed., IV, 696.

that no satisfactory explanation is possible except on the basis of "a historically certain tradition," thereby indicating the only feasible method of solving the problem under consideration.[21] Holy Scripture furnishes no argument,[22] since the words of Jesus, "This is my body, this is my blood," in their setting in the narrative of the Last Supper, may have a merely declarative as well as an operative meaning, that is to say, they may indicate that the change has taken place, or they may themselves effect it. Luckily, *we possess such a wealth of patristic evidence* that it is quite possible to arrive at a definite conclusion. As this evidence has never been completely collected,[23] I *deem it necessary to quote all the passages which bear on the question, in order to enable the reader to form his own opinion as to the validity of my conclusion.*

6. *What does tradition teach us on this point?* The Eucharistic prayers of the Didache embody neither the words of institution nor the epiclesis. But from this fact I am not prepared to conclude, as do BATIFFOL[24] and SCHERMANN,[25] that the words of institution were not spoken during the Eucharistic celebration at the time when the Didache was written. For the second century we have the testimony of *both Justin and Irenæus that consecration is effected by means of the*

[21] LINGENS (*op. cit.*, p. 52) also thinks that a thorough study of the history of dogma will prove the only sure way of arriving at a solution.

[22] RENZ (*Die Geschichte des Messopferbegriffs*, I, p. 139) maintains that Jesus consecrated by uttering the words "This is my body."

[23] The best collections of texts are those by HOPPE in his book *Die Epiklese* and especially by DREWS in his article "Epiklese" in the *Realenzykl. f. prot. Theol.*, V, 412 f. It is difficult to arrive at a conclusion from HOPPE's survey, because he divides the quotations into two groups, namely, those bearing on the words of institution, and those pertaining to the epiclesis. A third group, in which the whole Eucharistic prayer is indicated as effecting the consecration, is entirely lacking. LINGENS' and SCHANZ's collections are incomplete.

[24] *L'Eucharistie dans la Didaché*, in the *Revue Biblique Intern.*, 1905, 61, 63 f.

[25] *Die Gebete der Didache, c. 9, u. 10*, 1907, p. 236.

Eucharistic prayer, that is, the solemn thanksgiving. JUSTIN (*Apol.,* I, 66) calls the Eucharist "the food which has been blessed by the prayer of His [Jesus'] word" (*τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν*).[26] Catholic theologians, as a rule, understand by the term "prayer-word" the words of institution.[27] But these words are not a prayer, nor are they, as LINGENS would have it, "a word pronounced by way of a prayer." Besides, JUSTIN elsewhere calls the formula of consecration a "prayer and thanksgiving-word" (*Apol.,* I, 13) and the consecrated food, "a food over which thanks has been rendered" (*εὐχαριστηθεὶς ἄρτος,* I, 65). By Christ's "prayer-word" JUSTIN, therefore, understands the whole Eucharistic prayer or canon.[28] It may be termed thus, because, at the institution of the Eucharist, Christ Himself gave thanks and commanded that we give thanks also, by the words, "Do this for a commemoration of me." All doubts on this head are dispelled by IRENÆUS. He says (*Adv. Hacr.,* V, 2, 3), that the bread receives "the word of God" (*τόν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ*) and so becomes the Eucharist. He makes the same remark in another place (IV, 18, 5), but instead of "the word of God," employs the expression "the invocation of God" (*τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ*). This phrase cannot mean the words of institution, but must rather be considered as referring to the whole Eucharistic prayer. Other ex-

[26] This passage has been variously translated, the most common rendering being, "through the prayer (recitation) of a word that has come from Him"; RIETSCHEL (*Handbuch der Liturgik,* I, 1900, p. 256) and RENZ (*Die Geschichte d. Messopferbegriffs,* p. 163 ff.). But this translation is repugnant to the context and to *Apol.* 1, 13 (*λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμενα πᾶσιν, ὅση δύναμις, αἰνοῦντες*).

[27] Cf. HOPPE (*op. cit.,* 230); RENZ, 161 sqq.; SCHANZ, *Die Lehre von den hl. Sakramenten,* 388; LINGENS, *op. cit.,* 64 ff.; POHLE, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik,* III, p. 283; STRUCKMANN, *Die Gegenwart Christi,* p. 54.

[28] I have already stated this opinion in my *Floril. Patrist.,* 2 (1904), p. 69. BATIFFOL (*Études d'hist.,* II, 153) and BUCHWALD (*Die Epiklese,* 22 ff.) have also adopted it.

pressions of St. Irenæus lead to the same conclusion. Thus he affirms (*Adv. Haer.*, IV, 18, 4) that the bread *over which thanks has been given,* is the body of Christ,[29] and relates of Mark the Gnostic, that *while he prolonged the epiclesis,*[30] he colored the contents of the chalice red, (evidently wishing to mimic the consecration). The prolonged epiclesis could not have consisted merely of the words of institution. Even Renz is forced to admit this, though he does not refer the expressions, "word of God" and "the invocation of God," as found in Irenæus, to the words of institution (I, 163 and 193), but, on the contrary, writes: "From this it is clear *that at the time of Irenæus, the whole liturgical act of consecration was called 'to make the Eucharist;'* this 'making of the Eucharist' consisted in a longer or shorter prayer, not a fixed prayer, but one extemporised by the celebrant, which prayer was called epiclesis, and *the change of bread and wine was looked upon as a result of the epiclesis.*"

It is certain, therefore, *that Justin* and *Irenæus* considered the greater prayer of thanksgiving, as such, to be the form of consecration. For them "to give thanks" is synonymous with "to consecrate." Their expressions, "word of God" (λόγος Θεοῦ) and "prayer-word which comes from Him" (δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ) were liable to misinterpretation by later writers, as though they referred to the words of Jesus pronounced at the institution of the Eucharist; in matter of fact they have frequently been thus misunderstood up to the present day.

7. *In the third century* Origen and Firmilian, a bishop in Asia Minor, explicitly affirm that the consecration is brought about *by virtue of a prayer.* Origen

[29] "*Eum panem, in quo gratiae actae sunt* (this is the εὐχαριστηθεὶς ἄρτος of Justin), *corpus esse Domini.*"

[30] Ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως.

says[31] that the Eucharistic food is sanctified "*by a word of God and prayer* (διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως). But he also says, in another passage,[32] that the bread through the prayer (διὰ τὴν εὐχήν) really becomes a sacred body.[33] FIRMILIAN speaks of a certain prophetess, who pretended that "*with an invocation not to be contemned* (*invocatione non contemptibili*) she sanctified bread and made the Eucharist." "Invocation" (ἐπίκλησις) here no doubt means the whole prayer of thanksgiving. *We also have three witnesses of the third century* whose testimony appears to favor the assumption *that Christ consecrated by the words, "This is my body, etc."* All three employ almost the same expressions. TERTULLIAN remarks[34] that Christ, "having taken the bread and given it to His disciples, made it His own body, by (or whilst) *saying* (*dicendo*), 'This is my body.'" CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA says: "And He blessed the wine, *saying*, 'Take, drink: this is my blood.'"[35] Finally we read in the *Apostolic Church Ordinances* (c. 26):[36] "The Lord demanded the bread and the chalice and blessed them *saying*, 'This is my body and blood.'" True, these passages are not clear, and one is tempted to explain them differently in the light of other texts. TERTULLIAN is inaccurate when he implies that Christ consecrated the bread *after it had been distributed* (*distributum*), and in using the word "*dicendo*" he may have meant, "because He said;"[37] in which case his meaning is, "Christ changed the bread into His body; for He said, This is my body."

8. *The fourth century and those which followed*

[31] *In Matt.*, 11, 14.

[32] The expression is taken from *1 Tim.* 4, 5.

[33] CYPRIAN, *Ep.*, 75, 10.

[34] *Adv. Marc.*, IV, 40.

[35] *Paed.*, II, 2.

[36] FUNK, *Doctrina Duodecim Apost.*, 1887, 71.

[37] Cf. *Adv. Marc.*, III, 23: "*Probavit Christum fuisse, quem non audiendo* (because they would not heed) *perierunt.*" *Apol.*, 35: "*In sacrilegium convenimus christiani, non celebrando* (because we do not celebrate) *vobiscum solemnia.*"

furnish us with numerous testimonies. If we examine them we shall find that in the majority of cases the power of consecration is assigned to the great prayer of thanksgiving; in the others, either to the words of institution, or to the epiclesis, *the Western Church holding for the words of institution, and the Oriental Church for the epiclesis.* Among the Greek Fathers, CHRYSOSTOM is the most explicit. In two passages [38] he says that the transubstantiation is effected by the words of institution. But there are other passages in his writings in which he remarks that the priest draws down the Holy Ghost upon the bread and wine by reciting a long prayer, and that it is through this invocation of the Holy Ghost that the sacrifice is consummated.[39] ST. AMBROSE declares in one place that the change takes place "through the *mysterium* of holy prayer." [40] But in many others, especially in the book *De Mysterio,* he attributes this power to the words of institution. The same doctrine is taught in the pseudo-Ambrosian treatise *De Sacramentis. The two treatises, De Mysterio* and *De Sacramentis,* exercised a vast influence in the Western Church, and *undoubtedly contributed much towards the final adoption of the doctrine that consecration is effected by the words of institution.* OPTATUS OF MILEVE [41] and POPE GELASIUS I.[42] attribute great importance to the epiclesis, asserting that the Holy Ghost, *after He has been invoked* (*postulatus, invocatus*), descends upon the altar. On this point, as in all that he writes on the doctrine of the Eucharist, ST. AUGUSTINE is obscure. At one time,[43] he says that consecration takes place by means of a mystical prayer (*prece mystica*), at

[38] *De Prod. Judae,* I, 6; and *Hom. in II Tim. 2* (towards the end).

[39] *De Sac.,* III, 4; VI, 4; *De Coemet.,* 3.

[40] *De Fide,* IV, 10, 124.

[41] *De Schism. Donat.,* VI, 1.

[42] *Ep. Rom. Pont.,* ed. THIEL, I, 486.

[43] *De Trin.,* III, 4, 10.

another, through the blessing of Christ (*benedictione Christi*),[44] and again, through the word of God (*per verbum Dei*).[45] Even in regard to this last passage we are not sure whether he has in mind the words of institution, for by "the word" which is, in addition to the element (water), necessary for Baptism, he means (*Tract. in Joan.*, 80, 3), not the words of the institution of Baptism, but the preaching of the Gospel, or "the word of faith," and he adds that by means of "this word of faith" (*verbum fidei*) the Church offers, consecrates, and baptizes.

9. *To conclude:* From what has been said it follows that the early Fathers exclusively, and the later ones mainly, attributed the power of consecration to the whole Eucharistic prayer. This form of prayer they call "*the* prayer" (εὐχή, *prex*), also "the word of God" and "invocation" (ἐπίκλησις, *invocatio*). Hence we must be careful to note that *when there is question of the epiclesis*, this always means the epiclesis in its strict sense, *i. e.*, the sense that was given it later in the Greek Church. This fact was not sufficiently heeded by Drews in his article "Epiklese" in the *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie*. It cannot be proved that there was such a thing as an epiclesis in this strict sense during the first three centuries. During that time the writers of the Church never pronounced on the question, *at what precise moment* the consecration takes place. They were content with asserting that after the recitation of the great prayer bread and wine had become the body and blood of Christ.

During the fourth and fifth centuries *the great prayer had two climaxes*,— namely the narrative of the institution and the epiclesis. At that time, the consecration was ascribed now to the whole prayer,

[44] *Sermon.*, 234, 2. [45] *Ib.*, 227.

now to the words of institution, and again to the epiclesis. *In the Western Church the custom gradually developed of fixing the moment of consecration at the utterance of the words of institution,* and as the epiclesis scarcely accorded with this point of view, it gradually disappeared. *The case was different in the Orient.* Here the epiclesis was regarded as having a greater power in regard to the consecration, most writers maintaining that the consecration was not complete until after the recitation of the epiclesis. St. John Damascene shared this view,[46] and it was mainly through his influence that it became the prevailing one in the Orient.

The Catholic Church positively teaches that consecration is effected by means of the words of institution. After the abrogation of the epiclesis in the Western Church, the canon of the mass had but one central point, and this was naturally the moment of consecration. *But what of the Oriental liturgies?* If the consecration is completed as soon as the words of institution are pronounced, then the epiclesis has no meaning. No satisfactory explanation can be given on this point. Hence the only true solution of the epiclesis problem is to abolish the epiclesis, at least in its traditional form. As early as 1736, a provincial council of the *Maronites* proposed to modify the epiclesis so as to contain only the prayer that the body and blood of Christ might grant us the remission of sins.[47] This suggestion was approved by the Holy See. At the present time the Maronites no longer possess an epiclesis. Undoubtedly, they who created the epiclesis were fully convinced that the mere pronunciation of the words of institution did not complete

[46] Lingens is wrong when he says (*Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1897, p. 76), that John Damascene asserts the consecration to be effected by the words of institution. See the quotation, *infra*, p. 135.

[47] Thalhofer, *Handbuch d. kath. Lit.*, II, 234.

the consecration. The epiclesis in its present form cannot be retained by those who do not share this conviction.[48]

The following passages must be duly examined for a solution of the question of the epiclesis:

JUSTIN, *Ap.*, I, 66: . . . οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν . . . ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. I, 13: λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα τᾶσιν, ὅση δύναμις, αἰνοῦντες, μόνην ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ τιμὴν ταύτην παραλαβόντες.

IRENÆUS, *Adv. Haer.*, V, 2, 3: Ὁπότε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ. . . . IV, 18, 4: Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία. . . . I, 13, 2 he relates of MARK the Gnostic: Ποτήρια οἴνῳ κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ, ὡς δοκεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα Χάριν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτῆς στάζειν ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ ποτηρίῳ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτοῦ. . . .

TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marc.*, IV, 40: *"Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, 'hoc est corpus meum' dicendo."*

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Paed.*, II, 2: Καὶ εὐλόγησέν γε τὸν οἶνον εἰπών· λάβετε, πίετε· τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ αἷμα.

FIRMILIAN in Cypr., *Ep.*, 75, 10: *"Atqui illa mulier, quae prius per praestigias et fallacias daemonis multa ad deceptionem fidelium moliebatur, inter cetera, quibus plurimos deceperat, etiam hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet et sacrificium domino sine sacramento solitae praedicationis offeret."*

ORIGEN, *In Matth.*, XI, 14: Τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως . . . κατὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν

[48] On this question see BATIFFOL, *La Question de l'Epiclèse Eucharistique* in the *Revue du Clergé Français*, Dec. 15, 1908, pp. 641–662.

. . . ὠφέλιμον γίνεται. *Contra Cels.*, VIII, 33: Τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν, σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἁγιόν τι καὶ ἁγιάζον τοὺς μεθ' ὑγιοῦς προθέσεως αὐτοῖς χρωμένους.

Basil, *De Spir. Sancto*, 27: Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφων ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτοις ἀρκούμεθα, ὧν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμνήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχύν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες.

Athanasius (in Mai, *Script. Vet.*, IX, 625): Ἐπὰν δὲ αἱ μεγάλαι εὐχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἅγιαι ἱκέσιαι ἀναπεμφθῶσιν, καταβαίνει ὁ λόγος εἰς τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα.

Gregory of Nyssa, *Magna Catech.*, c. 37: Καλῶς οὖν καὶ νῦν τὸν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἁγιαζόμενον ἄρτον εἰς σῶμα τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου μεταποιεῖσθαι πιστεύομεν. . . . Ὁ ἄρτος, καθώς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἁγιάζεται διὰ λόγου θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, οὐ διὰ βρώσεως προϊὼν εἰς τὸ σῶμα γενέσθαι τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸ σῶμα διὰ τοῦ λόγου μεταποιούμενος, καθὼς εἴρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου.

John Chrysostom, *De Sac.*, III, 4 (Montf. I, 383[a]): Ἕστηκε γὰρ ὁ ἱερεὺς οὐ πῦρ καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖ, οὐχ ἵνα τις λαμπὰς ἄνωθεν ἀφεθεῖσα καταναλώσῃ τὰ προκείμενα. . . . VI, 4 (*ibid.*, I, 424[b]): Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καλῇ καὶ τὴν φρικοδεστάτην ἐπιτελῇ θυσίαν καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων συνεχῶς ἐφάπτηται δεσπότου, ποῦ τάξομεν αὐτόν (the priest). *De Cœmet. et Cruce*, c. III (*ibid.*, II, 401[d]): Ὅτ' ἂν ἑστήκῃ πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὁ ἱερεύς, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνων εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καλῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἅψασθαι τῶν προκειμένων, πολλὴ ἡσυχία, πολλὴ σιγή. *De Prod. Judæ*, 1, 6 (*ibid.*, II, 384[b]): Ἕστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τὰ ῥήματα φθεγγόμενος ἐκεῖνα·—ἡ δὲ δύναμις καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστι—τοῦτό μού ἐστι τὸ σῶμά φησι· τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα μεταῤῥυθμίζει τὰ προκείμενα. Καὶ καθάπερ ἡ φωνὴ ἐκείνη ἡ λέγουσα· αὐξάνεσθε καὶ

πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν, ἐῤῥέθη μὲν ἅπαξ, διὰ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου γίνεται ἔργῳ ἐνδυναμοῦσα τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν πρὸς παιδοποιίαν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη ἅπαξ λεχθεῖσα καθ' ἑκάστην τράπεζαν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι σήμερον καὶ μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τὴν θυσίαν ἀπηρτισμένην ἐργάζεται.

Chrysostom speaks in similar language in *De Prod. Judæ*, II, 6 (*ibid.* II, 394[b]). Further (*Hom. in Ep. 2 ad Timoth.*, 2 [*ibid.*, XI, 671[e]]): Ταύτην (τὴν προσφοράν) οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἁγιάζουσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ ἐκείνην ἁγιάσας. Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα, ἅπερ ὁ θεὸς ἐφθέγξατο, τὰ αὐτά ἐστιν, ἅπερ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ νῦν λέγει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ προσφορὰ ἡ αὐτή ἐστιν.

Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. Myst.*, I, 7: Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῆς εὐχαριστίας πρὸ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως τῆς ἁγίας καὶ προσκυνητῆς τριάδος ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτός, ἐπικλήσεως δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεται σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ οἶνος αἷμα Χρστοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ πρόπον . . . III, 3: Ὥσπρ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγιόυ πνεύματος οὐκέτι ἄρτος λιτός, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ . . . V, 7: Παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον θεὸν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ. Πάντως γάρ, οὗ ἂν ἅψηται τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγίασται καὶ μεταβέβληται.

Ambrose, *De Fide*, IV, 10, 125: "*Nos autem quotienscumque sacramenta sumimus, quæ per sacræ orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem Domini adnuntiamus.*" *De Myst.*, 9: "*Quod si tantum valuit humana benedictio, ut naturam converteret, quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina, ubi verba ipsa Domini salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum istud, quod accipis, Christi sermone conficitur. . . . Ipse clamat Dominus Jesus: 'Hoc est corpus meum.' Ante benedictionem verborum caelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur.*" He expresses the same sentiments in *De Bened. Patr.*, 9, 38 and *Enarr. in Ps.*, 38, c. 25.

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De Sacramentis (Pseudo-Ambrosius), IV, 4, 14: *"Consecratio autem quibus verbis est et cuius sermonibus? Domini Iesu. Nam reliqua omnia, quae dicuntur in superioribus, a sacerdote dicuntur, laudes Deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris; ubi venitur, ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, iam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum."*

Augustine, *De Trin.*, III, 4, 10: *". . . sed illud tantum, quod ex fructibus terrae acceptum et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus ad salutem spiritualem in memoriam pro nobis dominicae passionis." Sermon.*, 227: *"Panis ille, quem videtis in altari, sanctificatus per verbum Dei, corpus est Christi. Calix ille, imo quod habet calix, sanctificatum per verbum Dei, sanguis est Christi." Sermon.*, 234, 2: *"Non enim omnis panis, sed accipiens benedictionem Christi, fit corpus Christi."*

Jerome, *In Soph.*, c. 3 (Migne, *P. L.*, 25, 1375): *"Sacerdotes quoque, qui eucharistiam serviunt et sanguinem domini populis eius dividunt, impie agunt in legem Christi, putantes εὐχαριστίαν imprecantis facere verba, non vitam, et necessariam esse tantum solemnem orationem et non sacerdotum merita."*

In a letter of Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria (A. D. 402), according to Jerome's translation, we read (*Ep.*, 98, 13): *"Dicit enim spiritum sanctum non operari ea, quae inanima sunt, nec ad irrationabilia pervenire. Quod asserens non recogitat, aquas in baptismate mysticas adventu sancti spiritus consecrari, panemque dominicum . . . per invocationem et adventum sancti spiritus sanctificari."*

Fulgentius of Ruspe (d. 533, *Ad Monimum*, II, 26): *"Iam nunc etiam illa nobis est de spiritus sancti missione quaestio revolvenda: cur scilicet, si omni trini-*

tati sacrificium offertur, ad sanctificandum oblationis nostrae munus sancti spiritus tantum missio postuletur, quasi . . . ita spiritus ad consecrandum ecclesiae sacrificium mittendus sit, tamquam pater aut filius sacrificantibus desit."

Gelasius I (492–496), *Ep. ad Elpidium Veron.*: *"Nam quomodo ad divini mysterii consecrationem caelestis spiritus invocatus adveniet, si sacerdos et qui eum adesse deprecatur, criminosis plenus actionibus reprobetur?"*

Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles (d. 543, *Hom. in Pasch.*, 7): *"Invisibilis sacerdos visibiles creaturas in substantiam corporis et sanguinis sui verbi sui secreta potestate convertit, ita dicens: Accipite et edite, hoc est corpus meum."*

Isidore of Seville, *Ep. ad Redemptum: "De substantia sacramenti sunt verba Dei a sacerdote in sacro prolata ministerio, scilicet: hoc est corpus meum."*

John Damascene, *De Fide Orth.*, IV, 13: Εἶπεν ὁ θεός· τοῦτό μού ἐστι τὸ σῶμα, καί· τοῦτό μού ἐστι τὸ αἷμα, καί· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, καὶ τῷ παντοδυνάμῳ αὐτοῦ προστάγματι, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ, γίνεται (οὕτω γὰρ εἶπεν· ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ). Καὶ γίνεται ὑετὸς τῇ καινῇ ταύτῃ γεωργίᾳ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπισκιάζουσα δύναμις. . . . Οὕτως ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος, οἶνός τε καὶ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιοῦνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ αἷμα.

§ 7. Frequent Communion in the Early Church, and the Preparation Demanded for It

Literature: —

Herder's *Kirchenlexikon*, art. *"Communion,"* by Heuser, III, 2nd ed., 717 ff. *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, art. *"Eucharistie,"* by Drews, V, 3rd ed., 568 ff. Jak. Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Laienkommunion bis zum Tridentinum*, Speyer, 1891. Högl, *Über den oftmaligen Empfang der heiligen Kommunion in alten Zeiten* (*Theol.-prakt. Quartalschr.*, Linz, 1898, 846–855). Bastien, O. S. B., *De Frequenti Cotidianaque Communione*, Rome, 1907.

1. During the first three centuries of the Church's existence it was incumbent upon all baptized Christians who assisted at the celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice to partake of communion, unless prevented from so doing by the penitential discipline. Communion in those days, therefore, *was as frequent as the celebration of the Eucharist.*

In describing the condition of the first Christian community at Jerusalem, the Acts of the Apostles tell us that they were "persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles and in the communication (κοινονία) of *the breaking of bread* and in prayers" (2, 42), and that they were "continuing daily with one accord in the temple and breaking bread from house to house" (2, 46). From these extracts it would be legitimate to infer that the earliest Christians celebrated the Eucharist daily. This does not mean, however, that the practice continued or that it prevailed in the other Christian communities throughout the first century, for the condition of the earliest Christian community at Jerusalem was rather unique, owing to the fact that all property was possessed in common. At the time of the missionary journeys of St. Paul, the celebration of the Eucharist appears to have been restricted to Sundays only. The Apostle admonishes the Corinthians to put aside a small offering, *on the first day of the week,* for the Christians at Jerusalem (1 *Cor.* 16, 2), and the Acts of the Apostles relate of his sojourn at Troas, that "on *the first day of the week,* when we were assembled to break bread, etc." (20, 7). *During the second century, Sunday,* "the Lord's day," *was the regular day on which the faithful met for religious worship.* We read in the Didache (14, 1): "Assemble on the Lord's day, break bread, and give thanks." PLINY, in his well known Epistle to the EMPEROR TRAJAN (*Ep.*, 10, 96), relates that the Chris-

tians of Bithynia assembled on a fixed day (*stato die*), before sunrise, and JUSTIN says in his Apology (I, 67) that all the inhabitants of the city and surrounding country met *in one place* on Sunday to celebrate the Eucharist. But *in course of time the celebration of the Eucharist became more frequent,* and the meetings for religious worship were held, not only on Sundays, but also on the Sabbaths and fast days. Moreover, it had been an early custom for each community to solemnize the anniversaries of the death of its martyrs by the celebration of the Eucharist (*Mart. Polyc.,* 18, 3). TERTULLIAN (*De Orat.,* 19) says that about the year 200 the Eucharist was celebrated in Northern Africa on station days, and he attacks those who thought that the fast on these days was broken by the reception of the body of the Lord.

In the third century, according to CYPRIAN, the Eucharist was celebrated *daily in Africa.* He refers the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer to the bread of heaven, and says (*De Dom. Orat.,* 18): "We ask that this bread be given to us daily, that we, who are in Christ, and daily receive the Eucharist for the food of salvation, may not be cut off from the body of Christ by the impediment of heinous sin, which prevents and withholds us from communicating and partaking of the heavenly bread." In another passage (*Ep.,* 57, 3), he declares that the priests offer the sacrifice of God daily, and that "the soldiers of Christ drink the cup of Christ's blood daily, in order that they themselves also may be able to shed their blood for Christ" (*Ep.,* 58, 1).[1] *Possibly* CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and

[1] The reception of the Eucharist was considered as the best preparation for martyrdom, as we see from a passage of IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, in his letter to the *Romans* (7, 3): Οὐχ ἥδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου. Ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω, ὅ ἐστι σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ, καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὅ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος.

ORIGEN also bear witness to a daily celebration of the Eucharist.[2]

2. *In the fourth century* the evidence is more plentiful, but in many instances it is contradictory, from which fact we may conclude that *the frequency of the Eucharistic celebration at that time was not uniform in the various churches.* We have a clear indication of this from ST. AUGUSTINE, who writes (*Ep.*, 54, 2): "Some receive the body of the Lord daily, others on certain days; in one place no day passes on which the Eucharistic sacrifice is not offered up, in another, it is offered up only on the Sabbath and Sunday, or only on Sunday."

In the West, at this period, daily celebration of the Eucharist was the rule, as we learn from testimony gathered from all parts of the Western Church.

For Africa, we have the testimony of ST. AUGUSTINE, who, like ST. CYPRIAN, refers the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer to the Eucharist. He addresses the following words to the catechumens: "This petition of the Lord's prayer may be understood in a twofold manner; it may either refer to the necessity of bodily nourishment or to the necessity of spiritual food. We cannot live without bodily nourishment. . . . The faithful also know the spiritual nourishment, which you, too, will learn to know by partaking of the altar of the Lord. *This bread shall also be a daily bread,* indispensable for life."[3]

[2] CLEMENT OF ALEX.: *Quis Dives Salv.*, 23: Ἐγώ σου τροφεύς, ἄρτον ἐμαυτὸν διδούς, οὗ γευσάμενος οὐδεὶς ἔτι πεῖραν θάνατον λαμβάνει, καὶ πόμα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδιδοὺς ἀθανασίας. ORIGEN, *Hom. in Genesim*, 10, 3: "*Dicite mihi vos, qui tantummodo festis diebus ad ecclesiam convenitis, ceteri dies non sunt festi? non sunt dies domini? . . . Christiani omni die carnes agni comedunt, i. e. carnes verbi dei cotidie sumunt. . . . Et tu invitaris cotidie ad aquas verbi dei et adsistere puteis eius, sicut faciebat Rebecca.*" According to the context there is question here rather of the word of God.

[3] *Sermon.*, 57, 7, 7; see also *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, II, 7, 25: "*sacramentum corporis Christi quod quotidie accipimus.*"

The witness for the daily celebration of the Eucharist for the *Roman and Spanish churches* is St. Jerome,[4] for the *churches of Upper Italy,* St. Ambrose,[5] and for *the churches of Gaul,* Cassian.[6] The treatise *De Sacramentis,* written in the fifth century [7] and falsely attributed to St. Ambrose, contains a beautiful appeal for the frequent reception of the Eucharist. "If it [the Eucharist] is a daily food, why do you receive it only once a year, as is the custom of the Greeks in the East? Receive it daily, that it may strengthen you daily. Live in such a manner that you may deserve to receive it daily. He who is not worthy to receive it daily will not be worthy to receive it in a year" (V, 4, 25).

In the East a different practice prevailed. There Saturday and Sunday were the regular days for the celebration of the Eucharist. Whilst in the Roman Church,[8] and in Gaul, the faithful fasted on Saturdays, those of the Eastern Church did not, just as they do not at the present day, and consequently, in the Orient, the religious services on Saturdays were almost the

[4] *Ep.*, 71, 6: "*De sabbato quod quaeris, utrum ieiunandum sit, et de eucharistia, an accipienda cotidie, quod Romana ecclesia et Hispaniae observare perhibentur, scripsit quidem et Hippolytus vir disertissimus et carptim diversi scriptores e variis auctoribus edidere. Sed ego illud breviter te admonendum puto, traditiones ecclesiasticas, praesertim quae fidei non officiant, ita observandas, ut a maioribus traditae sunt.*" *Ep.*, 48, 15: "*Scio Romae hanc esse consuetudinem, ut fideles semper Christi corpus accipiant, quod nec reprobo nec probo; unusquisque enim in suo sensu abundat.*" (*Rom.* 14, 5.) Socrates (*H. E.*, V, 22) tells us that the sacred mysteries were not celebrated at Rome on Saturdays.

[5] *De Bened. Patr.*, 9, 38: "*Hunc panem dedit apostolis, ut dividerent populo cedentium, hodieque dat nobis eum, quem ipse cotidie sacerdos consecrat suis verbis.*" *Serm. in Ps.*, 118, 18, 28: "*Denique si accepissent panem verum, non dixissent: Domine da nobis semper panem hunc. Quid petis Judaee? ut tribuat tibi panem, quem dat omnibus, dat cotidie, dat semper.*"

[6] *Inst.*, VI, 8: "*Qua puritate oportebit custodire nostri corporis et animae castitatem, quos necesse est cotidie sacrosanctis agni carnibus vesci quas neminem immundum contingere etiam veteris legis praecepta permittunt.*"

[7] Rauschen, *Grundriss der Patrologie,* 3rd ed., 1910, 155.

[8] Innocent I, *Ep.*, 25, 4, 7 (*P.L.*, XX, 555).

same as those on Sundays. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (VIII, 33) prescribe that masters should give their servants ample opportunity to attend the religious services, not only on feast days and the weeks immediately preceding and following Easter, but also on Saturdays and Sundays. CASSIAN[9] relates that the monks of Egypt met only on Saturdays and Sundays to celebrate the divine mysteries. In Egypt,[10] and probably also in Palestine,[11] in the fourth century, the Eucharist was celebrated only on Sundays. But in the fifth century, it seems to have been celebrated daily in Egypt, as may be gathered from a passage in CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA.[12] In Asia Minor, as we learn from ST. BASIL (*Ep.*, 93), the sacred mysteries were celebrated on four days of the week, namely, on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and also on the festivals of the saints, but he considers it profitable and advisable to communicate daily. At Antioch, too, the Eucharistic services were held three or four times a week, for CHRYSOSTOM writes:[13] "The forty-days' fast occurs only once a year, but the Pasch takes place three times a week,— sometimes oftener,— in fact, just as often as we may desire." In another pas-

[9] *Inst.*, III, 2.

[10] SOCR., *H. E.*, V, 22. ATHANASIUS (*Apol. contra Ar.*, II [*op. Paris.*, I, 1, p. 133]) in order to prove that he could not have broken a Eucharistic chalice, writes: Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος, ἐν ᾧ κεκλᾶσθαι τὸ ποτήριόν φησιν, οὐκ ἦν ἐκκλησία, . . . ἡμέρα, καθ' ἣν Μακάριον τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι φασίν, οὐκ ἦν κυριακή.

[11] EUSEB., *In Ps.*, 21, 30–31 (*P.G.*, 23, 213): "Εστι δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην ἀναστάσιμον ἡμέραν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, τὴν καλουμένην κυριακήν, ὄψει παραλαβεῖν τοὺς τῆς τροφῆς τῆς ἁγίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ σωτηρίου μεταλαμβάνοντας. EUSEB. *De solemnit. pasch.*, c. 7 (*P.G.*, 24, 701): Καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ Μουσέα ἅπαξ τοῦ παντὸς ἔτους πρόβατον τοῦ πάσχα ἔθυον τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ πρώτου μηνὸς τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέραν· ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης ἐφ' ἑκάστης κυριακῆς ἡμέρας τὸ ἑαυτῶν πάσχα τελοῦντες ἀεὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ σωτηρίου ἐμφορούμεθα, ἀεὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ προβάτου μεταλαμβάνομεν.

[12] *In Lucam Explanatio* (*Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, tom. II, Romae, 1844, p. 124): ἐν ᾗ (ἐκκλησίᾳ) μυστικῶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἱερουργεῖται ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς ἄρτος καὶ ζωὴν διδοὺς τῷ κόσμῳ.

[13] *In eos qui Pascha Jejunant*, hom. 3, 4 (Montf., I, 611 a).

sage, however, he speaks of a *daily sacrifice* and *an almost daily mysterium.*[14] From these references we may conclude that in Antioch the Eucharist was celebrated three or four times a week, and occasionally even daily, especially during Easter-tide.

The Council of Laodicea (341–381) prescribes (can. 49) that "during Lent the bread must not be offered except on Saturdays and Sundays." From this we may gather that there was no Eucharistic service on those days on which a strict fast was prescribed,— its place being taken, as it is to this day, by the so-called mass of the presanctified. I am inclined to believe that Holy Communion was not distributed on these days. In his famous "Statue Homilies," preached at Antioch in Lent, St. Chrysostom gives the impression that they were not delivered in connection with the celebration of the Eucharist; other sermons of Chrysostom confirm this impression.[15]

3. With the fourth century *begin the complaints of the Fathers and councils about the negligence of the faithful in receiving Holy Communion.* No longer did all the faithful present at mass partake of the table of the Lord. Many approached it only on solemn

[14] *Hom. in Ep. ad Eph.*, 3, 4 (Montf., XI, 23): *θυσία καθημερινή. Hom. de Beato Philogonio*, 6, 4 (Montf., I, 499): *καθ' ἑκάστην δεῖ προσιέναι τὴν ἡμέραν. Hom. in Matth.*, 50, 3 (Montf., VII, 517): Τοῖς μὲν Ἰουδαίοις κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπόμνημα τῶν οἰκείων εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς ἑορτὰς ἐνέδησεν ὁ θεός· σοὶ δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὴν ἡμέραν διὰ τούτων τῶν μυστηρίων.

[15] *In Eos qui Pascha Jejunant*, hom. 3, 4 (Montf., I, 611c): Πολλοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν τοῖς μυστηρίοις προσήεσαν ἁπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον, καθ' ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτὰ παρέδωκε· συνειδότες οὖν οἱ πατέρες τὴν βλάβην τὴν γινομένην ἐκ τῆς ἠμελημένης προσόδου συνελθόντες ἐτύπωσαν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα νηστείας, εὐχῶν, ἀκροάσεως, συνόδων, ἵν' ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις καταρθέντες μετ' ἀκριβείας ἅπαντες καὶ δι' εὐχῶν καὶ δι' ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ διὰ νηστείας . . . μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος προσίωμεν. *Hom. In Genes.*, 10, 3 (Montf., IV, 74): Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα διαλεγόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ὑμετέρους, πείθετε αὐτοὺς τῆς πνευματικῆς ταύτης τροφῆς μηδέποτε ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστερεῖν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἠριστηκότες ὦσιν, ἐρχέτωσαν μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας, ἵνα δεξάμενοι τὴν ἐντεῦθεν διδασκαλίαν δύνωνται γενναίως ἱστασθαι πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου.

festivals, some but once a year. This laxity became more prevalent in the East than in the West.[16] The Council of Antioch, A. D. 341, prescribed (can. 2) that "all those who come to the church of God and listen to the reading of the Sacred Scriptures, but do not take part with the people in prayer or disdain to partake in common of the Lord's Supper, shall be excluded from the Church till they have done penance and shown signs of reform."[17] St. John Chrysostom often deplores the fact that so few of the faithful attend church, and that those who do attend, abstain from Holy Communion. He points out that the herald (deacon) calls out before the prayers of the offertory, "Let all who are in public penance, leave the Church," thus implying that the others should remain and partake of the body and blood of the Lord. He further remarks that it is improper for those invited to a banquet to attend without partaking of the food.[18] In Gaul this abuse became so prevalent that the benediction of the mass was given after the canon and the *Pater noster,* so that the many who left the church before communion might not be without it. A council held at Orleans, in 538, forbade laymen to leave the church before the *Pater noster* had been recited and the episcopal blessing given.[19]

[16] *De Sacramentis,* V, 4, 25: "Why do you receive it [the Eucharist] only once a year, as is the custom of the Greeks in the East?"

[17] This is also exacted by the ninth Apostolic Canon (Funk, *Didasc.,* I, 566): *πάντας τοὺς εισιόντας πιστοὺς καὶ τῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψαι, ὡς ἂν ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή.* Some have found this same ruling in the 28th canon of the Synod of Elvira (ca. 300). This canon reads: "*Episcopum placuit ab eo, qui non communicat, munus accipere non debere.*" But "*qui non communicat*" are the catechumens and public penitents. Cf. Hefele, *Konz.,* I, 2nd ed., p. 167.

[18] *Hom. in Ep. ad Eph.,* 3, 4 (Montf., XI, 23); cf. also Chrys., *De Beato Philogonio,* 6, 4 (Montf., I, 499).

[19] Can. 29, in Hardouin, *Conc.,* II, 1428.

Cæsarius of Arles, in rebuking those who left immediately after the reading of the Scriptures, says: "Whoever desires to hear mass must remain in church until the *Pater noster* has been recited and the blessing given to the faithful."[20] Gregory of Tours probably means the same when he says: "When the mass is finished and the faithful begin to receive the body of the Lord, etc."[21] Venerable Bede (d. 735) complains that, in England, the more fervent Christians receive Holy Communion only three times a year, at Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter, while in other parts of the Church, in the West as well as in the East, the faithful communicate every Sunday and on the festivals of the Apostles and martyrs.[22] A German synod, which was held about the year 800,[23] says that many abstain from the reception of the Blessed Sacrament for a whole year, whilst it ought to be received every week, as it is by Greeks, Romans, and Franks. The Council of Agde, A. D. 506 (can. 18), and that of Tours, A. D. 813 (can. 50), prescribe that the laity should receive the Blessed Sacrament at least three times a year.[24]

4. *In the old monasteries* the daily reception of the Eucharist was not the rule, but all received it weekly. What Chrysostom relates of the hermits, *viz.* that they partook of the divine mysteries only once a year, or every other year,[25] is easily explained by their isolation. Cassian[26] is authority for the statement that the monks of Egypt attended mass only on Saturdays and Sundays; and Sozomenus[27] records that an angel appeared to St. Pachomius and gave him a tablet, on

[20] *Hom.*, 12; cf. *Sermon.*, 5, *De Div. Myst.*

[21] *De miraculis S. Martini*, II, 47.

[22] *Ep. 2 ad Ecbertum* (*P. L.*, XCIV, 655 sq.).

[23] Hefele, *Konz.*, III, 2nd ed., 734.

[24] Hefele, *Konz.* II, 2nd ed., 563, and III, 2nd ed., 764.

[25] *Hom. in Hebr.*, 17, 4 (Montf., XII, 170).

[26] *Conl.*, XXIII, 21.

[27] *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 14, 20.

which, among other regulations, was written that his monks should attend mass and receive communion on the first and last day of the week. Some monks, *prompted by piety, received communion but once a year.*[28] In other quarters, too, *we hear objections raised against frequent communion. As early as the fourth century* it was feared that frequent communion would diminish the respect due the Blessed Sacrament and believed that equal if not greater honor would be given our Saviour by saying with the centurion, "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof" (*Matt.* 8, 8). In answer to such objections as these, St. Jerome (*Ep.*, 48, 15) remarks that a delay of one or several days would not render a Christian more worthy; that what one does not deserve to-day, one will not deserve to-morrow nor the day after. Cassian gives the best refutation to this misdirected piety. He argues as follows: (a) If a man is conscious of sin, he should seek with even greater zeal to be cured and purified. (b) He who considers himself unworthy of frequent communion must also abstain from yearly communion, since he is not worthy of this either. (c) Those who make this claim do not desire to be presumptuous, and yet they are guilty of greater presumption in considering themselves worthy whenever they do receive communion.[29] The author

[28] Cassianus, l. 1.

[29] *Conl.*, XXIII, 21: "*Nec tamen ex eo debemus nos a dominica communione suspendere, quia nos agnoscimus peccatores, sed ad eam magis ac magis est propter animae medicinam ac purificationem spiritus avide festinandum, verumtamen ea humilitate mentis ac fide, ut indignos nos perceptione tantae gratiae iudicantes remedia potius nostris vulneribus expetamus. Alioquin nec anniversaria quidem digne est praesumenda communio, ut quidam faciunt, qui in monasteriis consistentes ita sacramentorum caelestium dignitatem et sanctificationem ac meritum metiuntur, ut aestiment ea non nisi sanctos et immaculatos debere praesumere, et non potius, ut sanctos mundosque nos sua participatione perficiant. Qui profecto maiorem arrogantiae praesumptionem, quam declinare sibi videntur, incurrunt, quia vel tunc, cum ea percipiunt, dignos se esse perceptione diiudicant.*" (*Corpus Script. Eccles. Lat.*, tom. 13, 670).

of the pseudo-Ambrosian treatise *De Sacramentis* aptly remarks that "he who is not worthy to receive it [the Eucharist] daily, will not be worthy to receive it once a year" (V, 4, 25).

5. Under unfavorable circumstances, especially in times of persecution, it was often impossible for the Christians to attend church as often as they wished, in order to receive the Eucharist. They were therefore permitted to take home with them particles of the consecrated Host, and preserve them in a small case (*arca*). This custom is already referred to by TERTULLIAN (*Ad. Uxor.*, II, 5): "Will not your [unbelieving] husband know what it is which you secretly eat before taking any food?"[30] And in another place (*De Orat.*, 19), he admonishes all who will not communicate on the days of the stations, to take home with them the body of the Lord and consume it later. When making a long journey it was customary to carry a particle of the sacred Host in a linen pouch (*orarium*) suspended from the neck, as a protection against danger.[31] The monks living in Egypt, if they had no priest among their number, would regularly take consecrated bread with them into their desert retreats; and as we know from ST. BASIL,[32] the faithful of the Egyptian Church always preserved a consecrated Host in their homes, in order to partake of it when they desired. ST. JEROME men-

[30] In the Egyptian Church-ordinances of the fifth century, there is a prescription that before the eating of any food, a bit of the Eucharist is to be taken, in order that the food may not prove injurious. If this is observed, even the deadliest poison will cause no harm. (FUNK, *Didasc.*, II, 115.) The same is found in the *Canones Hippolyti*, which belong to the same age (ed. ACHELIS, *Texte u. Unters.*, VI, 4, Leipzig, 1891, p. 119).

[31] AMBROSE, *De Excessu Fratris sui Satyri*, I, 43.

[32] *Ep.*, 93: Πάντες γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὰς ἐρήμους μονάζοντες, ἔνθα μὴ ἔστιν ἱερεύς, κοινωνίαν οἴκοι κατέχοντες, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν. Ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἐν λαῷ τελούντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἔχει κοινωνίαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ, ὅτε βούλεται, μεταλαμβάνει δι' ἑαυτοῦ.

tions the same custom as existing in Rome.[33] For centuries the custom prevailed in the East of sending to the anchorites living in the desert particles of a Host which had been dipped into the Precious Blood.[34]

All the faithful were obliged to receive communion *at the point of death.* This was then as now called the Viaticum (ἐφόδιον), or preparation for the last journey. EUSEBIUS [35] relates that a certain SERAPION, who had offered sacrifices to the pagan idols, and had been refused pardon by the Church, when at the point of death sent for a priest, who being ill and unable to come, sent a little boy with the consecrated Host to the dying man. The Nicene Council prescribed (can. 13): "In reference to the dying, the old rule of the Church shall be observed, that no one in danger of death be deprived of the last and most necessary viaticum."

During the fourth century, the custom prevailed in the Eastern Church of distributing *eulogia* among the people as a sort of compensation for the Eucharist, which was then no longer received by all the faithful attending mass. This practice later found its way into Gaul. At first the word "*eulogium*" (from ἐυλογεῖν = εὐχαριστεῖν, *to bless*) was synonymous with "Eucharist," but later it came to mean simply blessed bread. As a rule the *eulogia* were selected from the bread which the people had presented at the offertory, but which had not been set aside for consecration. Even at the present time the custom prevails in the Greek Church of cutting with a holy lance from a loaf of bread a four-cornered piece to be used at the consecration, whilst the remainder of the loaf is distributed among those who have not received communion. In the first centuries, the bishops used to exchange par-

[33] *Ep.*, 48, 15.
[34] LEO ALLATIUS, *De Cons. Eccl. Orient. et Occident.*, III, c. 14, § 6.
[35] *H. E.*, VI, 44.

ticles of consecrated bread as a sign that they belonged to the same communion.[36] In the fourth century the Council of Laodicea (can. 14) put a stop to this practice. After this, instead of the consecrated bread, that which had been merely blessed was sent.[37] According to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VIII, 31), the *eulogia* that remained after the celebration of the mass were to be distributed by the deacons among the clergy. The synod of Nantes (658) commanded (can. 9) that on all Sundays and feast-days the priest should distribute among the faithful who had not received communion the *eulogia* which had been previously blessed. In France and Alsace-Lorraine this practice prevails even to the present day, although in the large cities the *eulogia* are distributed only on great feast-days.

6. *That communion under the species of wine was given to little infants immediately after Baptism,* is attested by St. Cyprian [38] and by St. Augustine, who refers to the practice repeatedly.[39] In the sacramentary of Gregory the Great we find among the rubrics of Baptism an injunction that infants be not nursed during the time intervening between Baptism and Communion. When children were taken seriously ill, they were also given Communion, and it may have been this fact which moved St. Augustine to declare, when combating the Pelagian heresy, that the words of Christ, "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man, etc." (*John* 6, 54), referred also to children.[40]

[36] Euseb., *H.E.*, V, 24.

[37] Paulinus, bishop of Nola, wrote to Bishop Alypius in Africa, a friend of St. Augustine (Aug. *Ep.*, 24, 6): "*Panem unum sanctitati tuae unitatis gratia misimus, in qua etiam trinitatis soliditas continetur; hunc panem eulogiam esse tu facies dignatione sumendi.*"

[38] *De Lapsis*, 25.

[39] *Ep.*, 186, 8, 30; *De Trin.*, III, 10, 21; *Sermon.*, 174, 6, 7.

[40] *De Pecc. Meritis et Remissione*, I, 20, 27: "*An vero quisquam etiam hoc dicere audebit, quod ad parvulos haec sententia* (*Joan.* 6, 54) *non pertineat possintque sine participatione corporis hujus et sanguinis in se habere vitam, quia non ait: qui non manducaverit,' sicut de baptismo, 'qui non renatus fuerit,' sed*

Some early medieval writers and synods demanded that communion be preserved also under the species of wine, so that it might at any time be administered to sick children.[41]

The practice of placing a consecrated Host in the mouth of the dead must have been very widespread, judging by the fact that so many synods forbade it.[42]

7. *The necessary disposition for holy Communion* extends to both the soul and the body. The preparation of the soul has consisted, for all ages, *in freedom from sin.* Already in the Didache we read (c. 14): "Assemble on the Lord's day, and break bread and give thanks, after having first confessed your sins, in order that your sacrifice be pure." The confession of sins here referred to can mean only a general one, of the kind which this same work demands before every prayer (c. 4): "Confess your sins before the congregation, and do not approach to pray with a defiled conscience." In the second century, JUSTIN remarks (*Apol.*, I, 66) that to partake of the Eucharist, it was necessary to believe in the truths of the Christian religion, and to live, after the reception of Baptism, in the manner prescribed by Christ. In the third century,

ait: 'si non manducaveritis,' velut eos alloquens, qui audire et intellegere poterant, quod utique non valent parvuli? Sed, qui hoc dicit, non adtendit, quia, nisi omnes ista sententia teneat, ut sine corpore et sanguine filii hominis vitam habere non possint, frustra etiam aetas major id curat." In another place (*Contra Jul. Ecl.*, I, 4, 13) AUGUSTINE appeals, in defence of his view that infants were included in *John* 6, 54, to a letter of Pope INNOCENT I. printed as No. 182 of the Epistles of ST. AUGUSTINE) and says that this Pope defined: *"Parvulos, nisi manducaverint carnem filii hominis, vitam prorsus habere non posse."* These words (*P.L.*, XXXIII, 785, no. 5) are not very clear, but probably have this meaning and were taken in this sense by Pope GELASIUS, 492–496, when he wrote (*Epistula ad Omnes Episcopos per Picenum*, in Hardouin, *Coll. Conc.*, II, 889): *"Ipse Dominus Jesus coelesti voce pronuntiat: Qui non manducaverit carnem filii hominis, etc., ubi utique neminem videmus exceptum."*

[41] Cf. JAK. HOFFMANN, *Gesch. der Laienkommunion*, 1891, p. 121 f.

[42] Thus the Council of Hippo, 393, can. 4 (HEFELE, II, 56), that of Auxerre, 585, can. 12 (*ib.* III, 45) and the second Council in Trullo, can. 83 (*ib.*, III, 341).

St. Cyprian relates that a woman guilty of idolatry, going to communion, "received not food, but a sword for herself, and, as if she had taken deadly poison, gave up the ghost in a frenzy of torture." [43] In the liturgies of the fourth century,[44] the bishop addressed these words to the people before holy communion: "*The Holy for those that are holy*" (τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις), a custom which prevails among the Greeks even at the present time. Chrysostom describes the solemnity with which these words were spoken: [45] "In order that you may have no pretext, the priest, with up-raised hands, like a herald, standing in a prominent place where all can see him, in this awful hour cries out with a loud voice, inviting some and enjoining others."

But what was the degree of perfection required of those who wished to communicate? *It consisted,* as St. Augustine declares in several passages of his writings, *in freedom from capital sins,* that is, from those sins which incurred excommunication.[46] "One says that the Holy Eucharist should not be received daily," he writes,[47] "and if asked why, the answer is: 'Because only such days are to be chosen for communion on which a man leads a purer and holier life, so that he may approach so great a sacrament in a worthy manner, for *he that eateth unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself.*' Another says: 'On the contrary! If the sin is so enormous, and the attack of sickness is so severe as to cause such a remedy to be deferred, then such a one must be kept away from the altar by the voice of the bishop, and made to perform works of penance, and must be reconciled

[43] *De Lapsis,* 26.

[44] *Const. Apost.,* VIII, 13, 12; Cyril, *Catech. Myst.,* 5, 6.

[45] *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.,* 17, 5 (Montf. XII, 170).

[46] On these sins, cf. *infra,* § 9.

[47] *Ep.,* 54, 3 (ad Januarium).

by the same voice. To receive holy Communion unworthily means to receive it whilst under penitential discipline, but not to receive or abstain from it according to one's own judgment. Moreover, *if one's sins are not so great as to entail excommunication, then he should not deny himself the daily medicine of the body of the Lord.'* These conflicting opinions will be best reconciled by admonishing both parties to keep the peace of Christ above all, and to do what each thinks most becoming, *for neither dishonors the body and blood of Christ,* but both strive to promote the honor of the saving Sacrament, . . . the one, like Zachæus, receives the Lord with joy into his house, whilst the other exclaims, with the centurion, *'O Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof;'* both honor the Lord in a different and, as it were, contrary manner: the one out of respect dares not to communicate daily, the other out of respect dares not to omit holy Communion even for one day. *There is but one thing which this food tolerates not, and that is contempt (contemptum), just as the manna tolerated not oversatiety."* [48] St. Isidore says that the sins which entail excommunication are the only ones which render a person unworthy to receive holy Communion.[49]

8. The preparation of the body consisted above all in *fasting.* As long as the Eucharistic celebration was held in connection with a meal, as in the first century (*v. g.,* in Corinth, cfr. 1 *Cor.* 11, 20 ff.), there could be no question of fasting. St. Augustine admits this in his *Ep.,* 54, 6, 8, where he comments on this pre-

[48] Cf. also Aug., *Tract. in Joan.,* 27, 11.

[49] *De Eccl. Offic.,* I, 18, 7, 8 (*P.L.,* LXXXIII. 756): *"Hoc est enim indigne accipere, si eo tempore quis accipiat, quo debet agere paenitentiam. Ceterum si non sint tanta peccata, ut excommunicandus quisque judicetur, non se debet a medicina dominici corporis separare, ne, dum forte diu abstinendus prohibetur, a Christi corpore separetur."*

cept. The first indication we have of the practice of fasting before holy Communion is found in TERTULLIAN, in a passage to which we have already alluded. "Will your husband not know," he writes (*Ad Ux.*, II, 5), "what it is which you secretly eat before taking any food?" In the fourth century the practice became universal.[50] ST. AUGUSTINE remarks: "It has pleased the Holy Ghost that, in honor of so great a sacrament, no other food should enter into the mouth of the Christian before the body of the Lord; and for this reason, *this practice is observed throughout the whole world.*" The universality of the custom may in great part be attributed to the fact that, since the beginning of the second century, the Eucharist was celebrated early in the morning.[51]

The Council of Hippo (A. D. 393) declared (can. 28): "The Sacrament of the Altar shall be received only by those who are fasting, except on Maundy Thursday (*cœna Domini*)." On this day the Christians desired to imitate as closely as possible the Last Supper, and as it was customary to bathe on this day, which was forbidden on all other days of Lent, they could scarcely fast till evening.[52] Yet on this day it was only allowed, not commanded, to communicate after the meal. How strict was this law of fasting we see from one of the epistles of ST. CHRYSOSTOM,[53] in which he defends himself against the charge of having given communion to some persons who had not been fasting. "If I have done this," he writes, "then let my name be erased from the list of bishops, and no longer stand in the book of the orthodox faith; for certainly, *if I have done this, Christ will cast me out of His kingdom.*"

[50] AMBROSE, *Expos. in Ps.*, 118; *Sermon.*, 8, 48; *De Elia et Jejunio*, 10, 33, 34.

[51] TERTULLIAN, *De Cor. Mil.*, 3.

[52] AUG., *Ep.*, 54, 7, 9 and 10.

[53] *Ep.*, 125 (Montf., III, 668).

It was also considered unbecoming for married people to receive communion shortly after marital intercourse. St. Jerome appeals for this practice to the words of St. Paul, "Defraud not one another, except perhaps by consent for a time, that you may give yourselves to prayer" (1 *Cor.* 7, 5), and says:[54] "Which stands higher, prayer or the reception of the body of Christ? If marital intercourse impede the lesser, how much more will it impede the greater?" Later writers, *e. g.*, St. Isidore[55] and Theodulf of Orleans,[56] demanded that married people refrain from intercourse at least a few days before the reception of holy Communion. Pope Gregory the Great, in a letter to his friend Bishop Augustine, of England, is more lenient and permits married people to communicate after sexual intercourse, though he remarks that it is scarcely in keeping with the dignity of the sacrament.[57]

[54] *Adv. Jovinianum*, I, 7; see also *Ep.*, 48, 15.
[55] *De Eccl. Off.*, I, 18, 9.
[56] *P.L.*, CIX, 718.
[57] *P.L.*, CV, 689.

PART II

THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE

§ 8. Ecclesiastical Absolution from Capital Sins in the First Three Centuries

1. TERTULLIAN has left us two works on penance. The first, *De Paenitentia,* was written while he was still within the pale of Catholicism (c. 200). Its tone is that of a zealous pastor exhorting his flock to penance. The first half of the book is intended for the catechumens and deals with penance as a prerequisite for Baptism; the other half treats of penance as incumbent upon the baptized Christian who has fallen into grave sin. The second work, *De Pudicitia,* is the last of the African scholar's writings that has come down to us. It was composed about the year 220 and is a bitter polemic, thoroughly Montanistic in tone, against what he calls the *"peremptory" edict of Pope Callistus* in regard to penance. This decree he records in his opening words: "The *Pontifex Maximus* — that is the Bishop of bishops — decrees: 'I remit the sins both of adultery and fornication to such as have discharged [the requirements of] penance.'" [1]

In modern times, *the significance of this decree* has been the subject of warm debate. For centuries back, two main theories had been prevalent. The Jesuit PETAVIUS, in an essay on the penitential discipline of

[1] *De Pud.,* 1: *"Audio etiam edictum esse propositum et quidem peremptorium; pontifex scilicet maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum, edicit: Ego et moechiae et fornicationis delicta paenitentia functis dimitto."*

the early Church,[2] maintained that in promulgating this decree, Callistus departed from the earlier penitential discipline, which consigned those guilty of mortal or capital sins to perpetual excommunication. MORINUS, the Oratorian, on the contrary, in his celebrated dogmatico-historic treatise on penance,[3] regarded the edict as an official declaration intended simply to sanction a discipline which was already in force in the principal churches of the West, and which was rejected by Montanism. FUNK[4] agrees with PETAVIUS. ROLFFS[5] and HARNACK[6] claim that Callistus was the first to *insist that the Church possesses the power to remit sin,* and that his edict was the *manifestation of a change that was taking place in the very concept of the Church.* The early Church, they assert, regarded itself as a congregation of saints and ascribed the power of remitting sin to God alone. The view championed by MORINUS is defended by LOOFS,[7] MON-

[2] The treatise of PETAVIUS, is called *De Paenitentiae Vetere in Ecclesia Ratione Diatriba* and is found in the supplement to his edition of St. EPIPHANIUS (*P.G.*, XLII, 1037 ff.). PETAVIUS expresses himself very positively. "*Quae res eo usque progressum habuit, ut atrocioribus quibusdam sceleribus venia indulgentiaque funditus denegata fuerit, numquam ut cum Ecclesia reconciliari possent*" (*ibid.*, 1018). . . . "*Huic tam compertae exploratae doctrinae nullos acrius repugnaturos intelligo, quam qui antiquitatis ecclesiasticae minus periti veteris Ecclesiae formam hodiernis ritibus institutisque metiuntur.*" And yet PETAVIUS later adopted the opinion of the "*minus periti.*" According to a passage quoted by ESSER (*Katholik*, 1908, I, 97), taken from his annotations to SYNESIUS (*De Paen. Diatriba ex Notis ad Synesium, Theol. Dogm.*, VIII, 684; I cannot find this passage in Migne), PETAVIUS says: "*Re altius accuratiusque perspecta asserimus, nullam unquam totius ecclesiae catholicae usu vel sanctione receptam fuisse consuetudinem, quae moribundis peccatorum absolutionem . . . negaret.*"

[3] *Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina in Administratione Sacramenti Paenitentiae* (l. 9, c. 19–20). This work first appeared in Paris in 1651.

[4] *Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandl. u. Unters.*, I, 1897, p. 155 ff.

[5] *Das Indulgenzedikt des römischen Bischofs Kallist*, 1893, p. 53 f.

[6] *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, I, 4th ed., 440.

[7] *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengesch.*, 1906, 4th ed., 206 ff. LOOFS says: "Callistus merely asserted *the view which was commonly held.* He was not the first to draw dogmatic conclusions from this practice and to compare the Church with the ark of Noe *filled with both clean and unclean animals.*"

CEAUX,[8] SEEBERG,[9] and especially by GERH. ESSER.[10] FUNK defended himself against the criticisms of ESSER in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* for 1906,[11] and BATIFFOL [12] and VACANDARD [13] took up his cause in France. ESSER replied in several articles in the *Katholik*,[14] as did also J. STUFLER, S.J.[15] At the present time, D'ALÈS [16] and Catholic theologians generally have adopted this view, with the exception of POHLE, who leans toward "the stricter conception of the Church historians." [17]

2. Lately FR. STUFLER, S.J., has collected *all the passages* which tend to show that before the decree of Pope Callistus the practice was prevalent in the Church of granting *pardon* (*reconciliation*) *even in the case of the most grievous sins*, after the performance of an imposed penance.[18] STUFLER is of the opinion that *the controversy, from a dogmatic point of view, is closed.* "BATIFFOL," he writes (p. 436), "attributes to the Church the right, in certain cases, to refuse to exercise the power of the keys even on behalf of a sinner who has the proper dispositions, leaving the decision to God. But the theologian can ascribe no such right to the Church." He further says (p. 437): "If,

[8] *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, I, 1901, 432 f.

[9] *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, I, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1908, p. 367.

[10] *Die Bussschriften Tertullians, De Paenitentia und De Pudicitia und das Indulgenzedikt des Papstes Kallistus.* Programme of the University of Bonn, 1905.

[11] "*Das Indulgenzedikt des Papstes Kallistus*" (*Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1906, 541–568).

[12] *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclés.*, 1906, No. 10, pp. 339–348; he concludes: "*La cause est entendue.*"

[13] *Revue du Clergé Français*, 1907, 113–131.

[14] 1907, II, 184–204 and 297–309; 1908, I, 12–28 and 93–113.

[15] "*Zur Kontroverse über das Indulgenzedikt des Papstes Kallistus,*" in the *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 1908, 1–42. See also "*Die Sündenvergebung bei Irenäus,*" *loc. cit.*, 1908, 488–497, and "*Einige Bemerkungen zur Busslehre Cyprians,*" *loc. cit.*, 1909, 232–247, by the same author.

[16] *Revue du Clergé Français*, 1907, 337–365.

[17] *Lehrbuch d. Dogmatik*, III, 3rd ed., 1908, 404.

[18] "*Die Bussdisziplin in der abendländischen Kirche bis Kallistus,*" in the *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1907, 431–473.

as even some Catholic church historians contend, the Church had for centuries refused to grant pardon to certain classes of sinners, regardless of their disposition, we should have to assume, either that she was unaware of her duty to grant absolution, and thus erred in an essential point of faith, or that she was inexcusably remiss in the performance of her duty. Both assumptions are untenable for one who admits the divine institution of the Church." [19] This view is one-sided. Dr. Pohle *thinks quite differently.* He writes: "We would strongly insist that the dogmatic theologian must bow before the facts of history, even though they appear extraordinary, and that he should seek to acquire a better understanding of the spirit of the primitive Church. *There is nothing more unfair than to judge the past by the present* instead of taking antiquity in its historical setting and judging it in its own light. . . . It was neither from a sense of harsh severity, nor because of lack of power, but rather for very weighty disciplinary and pedagogical reasons, that the Church refrained from exercising the power of the keys in regard to capital crimes." [20]

3. The oldest witness for the penitential discipline of the early Church is the *Shepherd of Hermas;* but his testimony is obscure and has been variously interpreted.

Commandment IV, 3, *first claims our attention.* The angel of repentance asks Hermas to exhort his people to do penance. Hermas says he has heard "some teachers" maintain that there is no repentance

[19] Stufler still maintains this position; cfr. *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.,* 1909, 233. Christian Pesch, S.J., defends the same view in his *Praelectiones Dogmaticae,* VII, 21. St. Cyprian, however, thought otherwise. In *Ep.,* 55, 21, he says that some bishops of his province had formerly denied ecclesiastical penance and pardon to all adulterers, "but were not on that account excluded from communion with their fellow bishops, nor violated the unity of the Catholic Church."

[20] *Lehrb. d. Domatik,* III, 3rd ed., 404.

after Baptism. The angel replies: "Thou hast heard rightly, for it is so. Whoever has received remission of his sins, ought not to sin again." He continues that God nevertheless has granted one penance to those who already have the faith and have sinned, and has given him [the angel] power over this repentance. Then the angel says literally: "*Whosoever, after that great and holy calling* (μετὰ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐκείνην τὴν μεγάλην καὶ σεμνήν), tempted by the devil, has fallen into sin, has one opportunity to repent. But if he sins again and once more repents, his repentance will be of no avail, he will live with difficulty (δυσκόλως)." What does "the great and holy calling" mean? FUNK[21] interprets it as referring to the "time of grace" announced by the angel, and the words, "one opportunity to repent" as referring to Baptism. But the latter assumption is impossible, and hence it is better, with CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Strom.*, II, 13), to understand the great vocation in the sense of Baptism. HERMAS' teaching therefore is, that there is one opportunity to do penance after Baptism, but no more; a second would be useless.

In the time of Hermas there were consequently two theories prevalent in regard to penance after Baptism, the one rigorous, the other mild. The "angel" adopts the former, held by "some teachers," but is willing to accord, as a special divine grace, one opportunity of doing penance to those who have sinned after receiving the faith, but only to these, not to such as should commit grave sins thereafter.

It might be further asked, *What is the nature of this single penance that Hermas grants? Must it be understood as the ecclesiastical penance, or merely as the divine forgiveness?* STUFLER[22] maintains the

[21] *Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandl.*, I, 170 f.

[22] *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1907, 457 ff.

former, FUNK the latter.[23] In the first edition of this present work (p. 110 ff.) I adopted the opinion of FUNK, both because there is no mention of ecclesiastical absolution anywhere in the *Shepherd,* and because it is expressly stated in several places that to those who fail to repent now, repentance will be of no avail later (*Comm.,* IV, 3), or that there shall be no salvation for them (*Vision,* II, 2, 5), and they will be cast away forever (*Simil.,* IX, 14, 2). Were this his meaning, *Hermas would deserve to be called,* in STUFLER'S language,[24] *the most intolerant of rigorists,* for in that case he would make every sin committed after Baptism absolutely unpardonable, which would exceed in severity the Montanistic TERTULLIAN, who (*De Pud.,* 10) so bitterly censures the clemency of the *Shepherd* towards adulterers, and even attacks the authenticity of the work itself. For these reasons I have given the question a further and deeper examination. To solve the difficulty it is necessary to keep clearly in mind the simile of the building of a tower, which HERMAS develops in his *Visions* and to which he reverts at the conclusion of his work.

In his third vision, HERMAS beholds a great tower of square stones which is gradually rising over the water. In the course of its erection a certain number of stones intended for the work are rejected as unsuitable. Some lie round about the tower, others at some distance from it. When HERMAS questions the old woman, who appears to him, she replies that the building is herself, namely the Church; the stones which are found worthy and placed in the building, are the Apostles, martyrs, and all those believers who have been faithful to the commandments of God; the stones which lie around the tower are the sinners; those that

[23] *Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandl.,* I, 171 f.

[24] *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.,* 1908, 538.

lie at a short distance are the sinners who wish to do penance; if they perform this penance while the building is in progress they will find refuge in the tower, though "in a much inferior place" (*Vis.*, III, 7, 6 f.) or a place "within the walls" (*Sim.*, VIII, 6, 6, and especially 7, 3). "You see," she says, "that repentance means life, but non-repentance death" (VIII, 6, 6). Further on it is remarked that the construction of the tower is delayed for a time, in order to afford opportunity for many sinners to repent and thus be received into the tower; but unless they hasten to repent, they will be excluded (*Sim.*, IX, 14, 2; X, 4, 4). Hermas also speaks repeatedly of an impending tribulation or persecution, in which there will be danger of denying the Lord. He who does this is lost. But he who denied Him previously shall find mercy (*Vis.*, II, 7 f.; III, 6, 5). This end shall come when the tower is completed, and until that time it is possible to find "a dwelling in the tower with the saints of God" (*Vis.*, III, 8, 9; 9, 5 f.).

According to Hermas, therefore,—

(a) For believers who have fallen into sin the time of grace lasts until the completion of the tower, that is, until the great tribulation which is to come. Whosoever will deny the Lord in this time of persecution, shall find no pardon for his sins.

(b) This persecution, however, does not mark the end of the world, for it is clearly distinguished from the latter in *Vision* II, 2, 5: "Filled up are the days of repentance for all the saints, but for the heathen, repentance will be possible even till the last day."

(c) Those of the faithful who do not repent until after the completion of the tower, will not be permitted to enter it, but will be assigned a lower place or one within the walls.

This throws light on the wording of *Commandment*

IV, 3, where it is said that believers have but one more opportunity of repenting. The question is, as was remarked above, Does this repentance refer to ecclesiastical reconciliation, or to the pardon of God? The answer is that neither the one nor the other is meant. It rather signifies the *one opportunity* of doing penance, which will enable believing Christians to yet enter the tower, provided they have done penance in due time. Should it happen that they repent too late, or fall into sin after having made use of this single opportunity, they will not necessarily be damned, they will merely be barred from entering the tower, they will have no "dwelling with the saints." *Vision* III, 7, 6 tells what their fate will be: "They will be sent to a much inferior place, and that, too, only after they have been tortured and completed the days of their sins; they will be freed from their tortures because they have partaken of the righteous word. But if they had no sorrow in their hearts, they would not be saved." In other words, all those believers who do not repent, or repent too late, must suffer tortures, and are barred from the tower and the dwelling of the saints, being compelled to enter an inferior place. Now we understand the phrase, which is so frequently employed by HERMAS: *δυσκόλως ζήσεται* or *δυσκόλως σωθήσεται*; it means, "he will be saved with much labor and difficulty," and not, "he will scarcely live or be saved."

4. DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH, demanded that all sinners should be received, no matter what the character of their crimes.[25] ST. JUSTIN says that all sinners, even those who have embraced Christianity and then apostatized, can obtain pardon from God by re-

[25] Cfr. Eusebius, *H.E.*, IV, 23: *Καὶ τοὺς ἐξ οἵας δ' οὖν ἀποπτώσεως, εἴτε πλημμελείας εἴτε μὴν αἱρετικῆς πλάνης, ἐπιστρέφοντας δεξιοῦσθαι προστάττει.* Harnack remarks (*Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.* I, 4th ed., 440) that it is not certain whether the term *δεξιοῦσθαι* indicates a return to the former state, or the undertaking of a long penance.

pentance.[26] St. Irenæus, too, repeatedly states that God grants pardon to the contrite. He writes:[27] "To those who contritely turn to Him, He grants peace, friendship, and communion; but for those who remain unrepentant, He prepares an eternal fire and outer darkness."[28] A few isolated texts of Irenæus show that even in his time there existed in the Church the practice of public penance; but that this ended with ecclesiastical absolution can neither be concluded from his writings nor from those of Justin.[29] When one considers the silence, or at least the uncertainty of the early testimonies in regard to ecclesiastical reconciliation, one is tempted to say with Harnack: "It was penance that was granted; the Gospel says that God does not spurn the penitent sinner. This sufficed. . . . The penitent was made happy by the mere fact that he

[26] *Dial.*, 47 and 141 (*P.G.*, VI, 577 and 797).

[27] *Adv. Haer.*, IV, 40, 1.

[28] In another passage (*Adv. Haer.*, IV, 27, 2) Irenæus remarks that for those who lived before Christ the death of Christ became the healing and remission of their sins, *but for those living at the present time, Christ can not die again;* He will come in the glory of the Father, requiring those whom He has benefited most, to return in the same proportion. Hugo Koch was the first to call attention to this text of Irenæus, in his essay, "*Die Sündenvergebung bei Irenäus*" (*Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wissenschaft*, 1908, 41 ff.). Stufler, "*Die Sündenvergebung bei Irenäus*," *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1908, 493 ff.) rightly points out that there are other expressions of Irenæus which directly contradict this view. In some places he grants salvation to heretics who repent, but in others he says that they damn themselves and are worse than the heathen. Stufler also appeals to Bishop Pacian, who says (*De Bapt.*, 7, *P.L.*, XIII, 1094) that Christ cannot die again for the grievous sinners, and yet in the very same treatise (c. 5) admonishes the most grievous sinners to do penance and directs them to God, who, he says, does not rejoice in the death of a sinner. In like manner, St. Justin remarks (*Dial.*, 44; *P.G.*, VI, 572a) that there is no other way of salvation, than to believe in Christ and live a sinless life after the reception of Baptism; while in other passages he speaks, as has been remarked above, of the possibility of the rebellious children of God receiving mercy.

[29] Thus Hugo Koch, "*Die Sündenvergebung bei Irenäus*," *loc. cit.* Stufler who disagrees with Koch on the majority of points, agrees with him in this ("*Die Sündenvergebung bei Irenäus*"). Feder, S.J., wrongly claims that Justin in *Dial.* 47 (*P.G.*, VI, 577) had in mind an ecclesiastical reconciliation (*Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1905, 758 ff.).

was permitted to do penance and that he was now no longer inevitably condemned to hell." [30] HUGO KOCH endorses the same conclusion: "The Church urges sinners on to repentance, but refuses to pass judgment upon them, leaving this to God." [31]

5. ESSER and STUFLER *claim to find ample proof in* TERTULLIAN'S *two works De Paenitentia and De Pudicitia, that before the time of Pope Callistus it was the general practice to grant pardon to sinners guilty of capital offences,* after the performance of public penance in church. In the last named work, TERTULLIAN denies the power of the Church to absolve from the three greatest sins, although he admits that previously he had taken a less uncompromising stand on the question of penance. In *De Paenit.* (c. 7), however, he exhorts to a second penance, which God in His mercy "has set up in the vestibule, to open the door to such as knock, but only once, because this is already the second time." ESSER and STUFLER understand this "*paenitentia secunda*" in the sense of penance followed by *ecclesiastical reconciliation,* whereas FUNK [32] contends that this cannot be proved, and would be incompatible with the rigorism of the early ages.

My own position in this dispute is this: A reading of the work *De Paenitentia* creates the impression that the penance there treated of is that followed by ecclesiastical pardon. Nor is it by any means certain that the rigorism of the early Church was so severe or so universal as FUNK maintains. Still, there is so much to indicate great rigor that one is tempted to interpret the treatise *De Paenit.* in this sense, *and in spite of all the counter arguments accumulated by* ESSER, *this interpretation has not yet been proved to be*

[30] *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, I, 4th ed., 441.

[31] *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wissensch.*, 1908, 44.

[32] *Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandl.*, I, 165 f.; *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1906, 543.

impossible. Although there are several passages which seem to support the view of ESSER, they are far from conclusive. If TERTULLIAN, *e. g.,* in his *De Pudicitia,* by "second penance" means the penance connected with ecclesiastical reconciliation, it does not necessarily follow that the word has the same meaning in *De Paenitentia.* In the *De Pudicitia* the word *absolvere* in several passages undoubtedly refers to *ecclesiastical* absolution; but from this it cannot be inferred that the word necessarily means the same in *De Paenitentia.* When, in the latter treatise, TERTULLIAN speaks of a "second" penance, and refers to it as the one sole penance, our first thought naturally is that this penance is consummated by the act of ecclesiastical reconciliation and after that may not be repeated; but it is quite possible that, in the mind of TERTULLIAN, a grievous sinner who, after accepting his penance, relapses again into sin, cannot continue the public penance imposed by the Church. ESSER holds[33] that TERTULLIAN, in his explanation of the parable of the Prodigal Son (*De Paen.* 8), makes "the feast" refer to holy Communion. We may readily admit that TERTULLIAN uses the term in this sense in explaining the parable in *De Pudicitia,* c. 9; but in c. 8 of *De Paenit.* it is quite doubtful whether he intends to give it this meaning. ESSER's argument is founded mainly on the following passage from *De Paen.,* 10: "If we have hidden something from the eyes of men, shall we also hide it from God? Are the judgments of men and the knowledge of God to be put upon a par? Or is it better to be damned in secret than to be absolved in public (*an melius est damnatum latere quam palam absolvi*)?" But this passage does not prove ESSER's contention, for TERTULLIAN's last-quoted sentence evidently means:

[33] *Katholik,* 1907, II, 302 f. STUFLER says the same in *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.,* 1908, 31.

"Is it better to remain silent and be damned, than to confess one's sin and be absolved from it? Absolution may here be taken as coming from God alone, not through the agency of the Church; if it is God who damns, it must also be God who absolves.[34]

6. In his later work *De Pudicitia* (c. 21) TERTULLIAN formally denies the right of the Church to absolve from the three capital sins.[35] God alone, he says, possesses this power, for these sins are directly committed against Him;[36] it is exercised in the name of God by all those who "bear the Holy Spirit," that is by the Apostles and prophets, but it does not belong to the Church as such, *i. e.*, the bishops.[37]

The main reason why TERTULLIAN denies the power of the Church to absolve from mortal sins is, in the opinion of ESSER, because God will pardon these sinners only exceptionally. "TERTULLIAN," he claims,[38] "firmly believes that if God grants pardon, the sinner is by that very fact reconciled to the Church, and the *spiritales* are the organs through which this reconciliation is manifested to the community, in order that it may ratify the divine act by admitting the sinner to full communion with the Church. TERTULLIAN knows no forgiveness of sin by God, which does not entail full communion with the Church." But here

[34] LOOFS (*Leitfaden*, 4th ed., p. 207) translates the words "*palam absolvi*" by "to be known as absolved by God," but adds that this absolution presupposes that of the Church. I cannot admit this.

[35] ESSER proved this against BATIFFOL who argued (*Études d'Hist.* I[8], 96): "*La réserve des trois péchés soi-distant irrémissibles était une création juridique de l'église et avait été posée pour des motifs de discipline et comme une sauvegarde des moeurs.*" (Cf. *Katholik*, 1907, II, 189 ff.).

[36] TERTULLIAN (*De Pud.*, c. 21) and CYPRIAN (*Ep.*, 17, 2 and 59, 13, 16) divide sin into *peccata in Deum* and *peccata in fratrem*. To the first group belong, besides idolatry and blasphemy, murder and impurity, because these are directed against the body, which is the temple of God. This division is based on *1 Kings* 2, 25. Cf. POSCHMANN, *Die Sichtbarkeit der Kirche nach der Lehre des hl. Cyprian*, 1908, p. 139.

[37] *De Pud.*, c. 21: "*Ecclesia quidem delicta donabit, sed ecclesia spiritus per spiritalem hominem, non ecclesia numerus episcoporum.*"

[38] *Katholik*, 1907, II, 195.

Esser goes too far. True, Tertullian in his treatise *De Pudicitia* tries to disprove all the reasons brought forward by Catholics to show the mercy of God towards Christians who have fallen into sin; for instance (c. 7–9), he will not admit that the parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, and the Prodigal Son, refer to any sinners other than those not yet baptized. He also divides sins into two classes, those that can be remitted, and those which cannot be remitted (c. 2), and says of the latter, that one should not, because of 1 *John* 5, 16, pray to God to pardon them, since God has only punishment and damnation for them. He even goes so far as to say: "In the case of these [mortal sinners] Christ will not further intercede for them." But elsewhere, for instance in c. 19, he says, forgiveness can be received from the bishop for lesser sins committed after Baptism, *but for the serious and irremissible sins, from God alone.* And in *De. Pud.*, 3, Tertullian teaches that penance is not useless, even though it does not result in ecclesiastical reconciliation; "for this penance being referred to the Lord and laid before Him, will all the rather avail to obtain pardon, as it gains it by entreaty from God alone, and it believes not that man's peace is adequate, that as far as regards the Church, it prefers the blush of shame to the privilege of communion . . . *and if it reaps not the harvest of peace here below, yet it sows the seed of it before the Lord.*" Esser rightly observes that Tertullian absolutely excludes the unnatural vices from divine and human forgiveness, and therefore also from ecclesiastical penance.[39] I therefore believe that Stufler is right when he modifies Esser's assertion in the

[39] *De Pud.*, c. 4: "*Reliquas autem libidinum furias impias in corpora et in sexus ultra iura naturae non modo limine, verum omni ecclesiae tecto submovemus, quia non sunt delicta, sed monstra.*" Cf. also c. 13.

following manner:[40] "The contradiction disappears when one considers that, while TERTULLIAN in many passages speaks as if God refuses to pardon mortal sins, he always has in mind that forgiveness only which can be obtained *already in this life;* he positively teaches in several passages that the repentant sinner will receive the grace of God *after death.*"

7. The effect of POPE CALLISTUS' edict was that adulterers and fornicators were soon absolved generally throughout the Church on condition of complying with the imposed penance. *During the Decian persecution,* the controversy began anew in the Western Church and led to a schism at Rome and the election of an anti-pope (NOVATIAN). But this time the dispute turned on *the sin of apostasy.* This persecution, both in extent and virulence, surpassed all the preceding ones. Under its stress, many Christians wavered and offered sacrifices to the gods. When the first storm had passed over, the majority of those who had apostatized turned to the bishops and priests for readmission to the communion of the faithful. After a long discussion, the question was finally settled by two synods, one held at Rome, and the other at Carthage, in the year 251. The decrees of these two councils have been carefully studied by STUFLER[41] and his conclusions differ considerably from the traditional view. *I cannot, however, in the main endorse his deductions.*

Up to the present time it has been commonly assumed with FUNK[42] that the Council of Carthage (251) had decided that those who had merely procured certificates that they had offered incense to the pagan gods (*libellatici*) might be pardoned after a certain pe-

[40] *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1908, 12.

[41] "*Die Behandlung der Gefallenen zur Zeit der decischen Verfolgung,*" in the *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1907, 577–618.

[42] *Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandl.*, I, 161 f.

riod of probation; but that those who had actually sacrificed (*sacrificati*) were to be accorded absolution only on their deathbed. STUFLER's interpretation of the decision is that the *libellatici* were reconciled immediately, and the *sacrificati* were pardoned *after a shorter or longer penance,* but certainly at the point of death. He is right in his first contention,[43] but wrong in the second. What the council really decreed was that the *sacrificati* were to be granted ecclesiastical absolution only on their deathbed. ST. CYPRIAN explicitly says so, when he writes (*Ep.*, 55, 17): "After an examination of the various cases it was decided that the *libellatici* should be admitted at once, while the *sacrificati* should receive forgiveness only at death (*in exitu*)."[44] I know of no other interpretation of the term "*in exitu*" than the one given above. CYPRIAN expresses himself in like manner in other passages,[45] especially when, discussing the decree, he remarks that those who actually apostatized should receive *pardon at the moment of death.* STUFLER makes much of *Ep.* 56, in which ST. CYPRIAN holds a penance of three years is sufficient. *But this very epistle furnishes a strong argument against* STUFLER'S *position,* for in it there is question of a very special case, that of a man

[43] The word "*interim*" in CYPRIAN, *Ep.*, 55, 17, means "now."

[44] "*Placuit examinatis causis singulorum, libellaticos interim admitti, sacrificatis in exitu subveniri.*" The expression "*examinatis causis singulorum*" refers to the distinction between the *libellatici* and the *sacrificati;* many objected to this distinction. (*Ep.*, 55, 13, 14.)

[45] *Ep.*, 55, 13: "*Nemo hoc debet in sacerdotibus criminari, cum semel placuerit fratribus in periculo subveniri.*" *Ep.*, 56, 2: "*Nam cum in concilio placuerit, paenitentiam agentibus in infirmitatis periculo subveniri et pacem dari, etc.*" *Ep.*, 57, 1: ". . . *agerent diu paenitentiam plenam, et si periculum infirmitatis urgeret, pacem sub ictu mortis acciperent.*" *Ep.*, 55, 6 is not so easily understood. ". . . *traheretur diu paenitentia et rogaretur dolenter paterna clementia et examinarentur causae et voluntates et necessitates singulorum, secundum quod libello continetur, quem ad te pervenisse confido, ubi singula placitorum capita conscripta sunt.*" The synod, then, distinguished different kinds of sinners; I infer that it also assigned to the different degrees of guilt special penances.

who, after courageously confessing the name of the Lord, had wavered; he did not, St. Cyprian declares, fall through levity of mind, but having engaged in the conflict, and being wounded, had not been able to sustain the crown of his confession through weakness of the flesh. The holy Bishop declares that he will discuss the case with other bishops, so that his opinion may be supported by their authority. Evidently this decision represents a modification of the conciliar decree of 251.

Stufler[46] *objects to my interpretation* of the decree of 251. He attempts to show that I am at variance with certain utterances of St. Cyprian, notably those which oblige the *"sacrificati" to perform a long and adequate penance* (*traheretur diu paenitentia; agerent diu paenitentiam plenam*).[47] For this reason I reconsidered the whole matter, and though at first I was rather inclined to accept the contention of Stufler (especially because of *Ep.*, 55, 6), I am now more convinced than ever of the correctness of my own interpretation as explained above, and that for the following reasons:

[46] *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1908, p. 541.

[47] Cfr. *Ep.*, 55, 6; 57, 1; 64, 1. Stufler says, regarding *Ep.*, 57, 1: "*Agerent diu paenitentiam plenam et, si periculum infirmitatis urgeret, pacem sub ictu mortis acciperent,*" that the first clause, "*agerent diu paenitentiam plenam,*" would be entirely superfluous and extraneous if no one was to be reconciled except "*sub ictu mortis.*" But this is not so, for the council decrees, not that everyone in danger of death should be reconciled, but only those who have done real penance. Stufler thinks my "error" originates in this, that I misconstrue these words of the synod's decree (*Ep.*, 55, 17): "*Placuit examinatis causis singulorum libellaticos interim admitti, sacrificatis in exitu subveniri.*" He holds that the adverb *interim* must be referred not only to *admitti* but also to *subveniri*, so that the sense is, "for the moment" no greater favor should be granted to the *sacrificati* than that of coming to their assistance when in danger of death. I cannot agree with this. If *interim* is to apply also to *subveniri*, it must be placed before *libellaticos;* as it now stands, it can only be understood as an antithesis to "*in exitu,*" and the sense must be: the *libellatici* are to be admitted *now* to the Church, but the *sacrificati* receive assistance at the end of life.

(a) In *Ep.* 17–20 CYPRIAN grants ecclesiastical pardon to the lapsed only at the hour of death, even if they have received peace-letters from confessors of the faith.

(b) If the lapsed could have obtained pardon before the hour of death, by the performance of a longer or shorter penance, why should CYPRIAN always refer only to the decree which granted them forgiveness in the hour of death, and *why does he take pains to justify this decree only* (especially in *Ep.*, 55)? It is reasonable to assume, in that hypothesis, that the opposition was directed for the most part against the reception of the lapsed before they were near death.

(c) *Epistle* 56 *is proof sufficient.* It treats of the Christians who, in time of persecution, at first remained steadfast in the faith, but later wavered, and performed three years' penance for their weakness. CYPRIAN maintains that these should now be reconciled, and he appeals to the decree of the council, which gave all the lapsed the right to be pardoned on condition of a penance in the hour of death. Had the council granted the right to be received back into the Church to actual apostates, even if they were not in danger of death, merely on condition of a longer or shorter penance, CYPRIAN would doubtless have appealed to this decree, and not to the one that granted pardon only at the hour of death.

Simultaneously with this council of Carthage *a synod was held at Rome by the newly elected Pope Cornelius.* We know nothing of its decrees beyond the fact recorded by EUSEBIUS (*H.E.*, VI, 43) that it resolved "to heal the fallen with the remedies of penance." How long this penance was to last in each case we do not know. But since ST. CYPRIAN declares (*Ep.*, 55, 6) that CORNELIUS and his fellow-bishops concurred with him with the same gravity and whole-

some moderation, we may conclude that the Roman decree coincided substantially with that of Carthage.

The main question for us is: Do the decrees of the councils of Rome and Carthage, in the year 251, mark a new departure in the penitential discipline of the Church? BATIFFOL,[48] FUNK,[49] and HARNACK[50] answer this question in the affirmative, STUFLER[51] negatively, whilst LOOFS takes a middle course.[52] The proofs which STUFLER adduces in support of his opinion are mainly of a general nature, *i. e.,* the lapsed of Carthage do not betray the least despair, but immediately have recourse to confessors and priests, and not one of these calls their attention to the fact that they are excluded from the Church forever. Neither CYPRIAN, nor the clergy of Rome say anywhere that the petition of the lapsed for reconciliation is contrary to the practice maintained up to that time; they rather look upon it, STUFLER says (p. 596), as self-evident that the fallen must be assisted;[53] we do not hear of NOVATIAN or any of his adherents appealing to the old penitential discipline.

But all this, as we shall presently show, is only partly true. *The decrees of 251 must have marked a modification of the previous practice, at least at Carthage; and this innovation appears to have been*

[48] *Études d'Hist.*, I, 3rd ed., 111 f.

[49] *Kirchengeschicht. Abhandl.*, I, 159.

[50] Art. "Novatian" in the *Realenzykl. für prot. Theol.*, XIV, 229 ff.

[51] "*Die Behandlung der Gefallenen, etc.*" (*Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1907, 589 ff.).

[52] *Leitfaden*, 4th ed., p. 208.

[53] FUNK (*op. cit.*, p. 160) thinks that the Roman clergy "clearly saw the difference between the old and the new, between the traditional practice and that ordered by the clerics." He bases this opinion on CYPRIAN (*Ep.*, 30, 8): "*Ante constitutionem episcopi nihil innovandum putavimus, sed lapsorum curam mediocriter temperandam esse credidimus.*" Funk translates the last words thus: "We have seen fit to permit a *slight modification* in the treatment of the lapsed." But this translation is wrong, as STUFLER (*l. cit.*, p. 597 f.) has shown. It should read: "We have believed that the lapsed *must be moderately dealt with,*" that is, that the middle course between a too rigorous and too lax practice must be taken.

modelled on the example given by Rome. For, in Rome the practice of granting the peace of the Church to apostates even before the hour of death was in vogue long before it was adopted at Carthage. This is evidenced by a letter from the Roman clergy to that of Carthage, written in the beginning of the persecution. In it we read: "These [the lapsed] we have ejected but not abandoned, but we have exhorted them, and still exhort them, to repent, that perchance they may receive pardon from him who is able to grant it; lest, if they be deserted by us, they should perish. You see, then, brethren, that you also ought to co-operate, that those who have fallen may change their minds by your exhortation, so that if they should be seized again, they may confess and make amends for their previous sins. There are other matters which are incumbent upon you, which also we have here added, *as that if any who may have fallen into this temptation, begin to be taken with sickness, and repent of what they have done, and desire communion, they should, by all means be assisted.*" [54] It is impossible to determine whether at Rome, such leniency towards the lapsed was employed for the first time at this period, or whether it dates farther back. But we may assume that the question now came before the Church as an entirely new one, in consequence of the long period of peace which she had enjoyed. STUFLER (p. 599 ff.) has even attempted to prove that at this time the lapsed were received into the Church at Rome even though not in danger of death. He deduces this from the ending of *Ep.* 30, where the Roman clergy say that care must be taken lest the penitents "accuse us of cruel severity." But this conclusion is not well founded, for the same letter clearly shows that the

[54] CYPR., *Ep.*, 8, 2–3.

severity these clerics had in mind consisted in the refusal of absolution *in articulo mortis.*

CYPRIAN himself confesses that the example of Rome in regard to the treatment of the lapsed made an impression upon him.[55] At first he could only bring himself to allow those of the lapsed *who had received certificates from the martyrs,* to be pardoned at the moment of death, and this is why he excuses himself, in the same passage, to the Roman clergy. He says he did not act rashly but believed that honor should be paid to the martyrs, and that the " vehemence of those who were anxious to disturb everything should be restrained." Nor had he imposed a law, or rashly (*temere*) put himself at the head, but acted according to weighty reasons. *All this clearly reveals the fact* that a different practice had previously prevailed at Carthage.[56]

As long as the persecution raged, CYPRIAN took no

[55] *Ep.*, 20, 3: *". . . (cum) praeterea vestra scripta legissem, quae ad clerum nostrum per* CREMENTIUM *hypodiaconum nuper feceratis . . . , standum putavi et cum vestra sententia, ne actus noster, qui adunatus esse et consentire circa omnia debet, in aliquo discreparet."*

[56] POSCHMANN endorses my opinion in his splendid volume, *Die Sichtbarkeit der Kirche nach der Lehre des hl. Cyprian* (Paderborn, 1908, p. 137). He, too, concludes from the utterances of CYPRIAN, that before him the custom existed of granting peace to capital sinners only if a martyr interceded for them, and *that* CYPRIAN *himself " was forced to adopt a milder practice only after the greatest hesitation."* As he had formerly objected to my position in the matter (*Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1908, 541 f.), so STUFLER also censured POSCHMANN (*l. cit.*, 1909, 238). He accuses both of us of not having brought forward any proofs; so now I give them:

In *Ep.*, 18, 1 and 19, 2, CYPRIAN writes to his clergy that the lapsed, *who, in danger of death, penitently confessed and have received peace-letters from the martyrs,* shall be reconciled by the imposition of hands, but the others must wait until peace is restored to the Church and the whole matter can be decided by a council. In *Ep.*, 20, 3, CYPRIAN relates the same thing to the Roman clergy and expresses his joy that they had also given expression to the principle that the lapsed must be assisted in the hour of death. Despite this STUFLER maintains that CYPRIAN may have granted pardon without peace-letters to the lapsed already at that time. But why then does the Saint add, *" libello a martyribus recepto"* or language similar to this? This must have been the *conditio sine qua non* for the pardon. In Rome, at this time, no

further steps. It was only in the year 251, after he had returned to Carthage, that he ordained, together with the synod already referred to, that the *libellatici* were to be received back immediately, and the *sacrificati* were to be granted absolution at the point of death, even though they possessed no peace-letters from the martyrs. But if we look at *Ep.* 55 and 57, in which he speaks of these matters, *we see that he takes the greatest pains to excuse this moderation. This fact* STUFLER *has entirely disregarded.* In these Epistles CYPRIAN repeatedly remarks that he must be careful lest the lapsed, being denied the hope of pardon, join the heathens, the heretics or schismatics, and do the works of this world.[57] Not only those who are well must be cared for (which even the Stoics did), but also the sick. Now the lapsed are not dead but sick.[58] Then he gathers together a mass of Biblical texts,[59] which contain exhortations to penance and extol the goodness of God. Finally he says: *"It was not right,* after all, nor did the paternal love of God and His mercy allow, *that the Church should be closed to those that knock, or the hope of salvation be denied to those who suffer and entreat, so that they who pass from this world,* are sent to their Lord without communion and peace; for did not He himself ordain that the things which were bound on earth were also

such condition was required and the fact that Cyprian expressly mentioned it in his letter to Rome, proves that it must have been an essential feature of his decision.

STUFLER objects that at this time such peace-letters could be easily procured at Carthage and that CYPRIAN merely demanded them out of respect for the confessors, who were beginning to be a source of annoyance to him. *But this is pure speculation, which has nothing in its favor.* If in *Ep.*, 20, 3, CYPRIAN justifies his decision by claiming that the martyrs must be given the honor due them; this does not mean that his demand for the peace-letters was a mere formality. He himself refers (*Ep.*, 19, 2) to those who have not received *libelli* from the martyrs and whose wishes are therefore not acceded to until some future time.

[57] *Ep.*, 55, 5, 16.

[58] *Ep.*, 55, 16.

[59] *Ep.*, 55, 22–23.

bound in heaven, and that what was first loosed in the Church might also be loosed there?" [60] *The moderation which Cyprian in these passages excuses, consisted in this that absolution was given in the hour of death without peace-letters.* It must have appeared excessive leniency to many, and a novelty at least when proposed in the form of a general principle.[61] Once this first step toward a milder treatment of the lapsed had been made, larger measures were inevitable. As early as 252, a Carthaginian synod decreed that in case of an expected persecution communion with the Church was to be given to *all those who repented.*[62]

8. *The ecclesiastical discipline in regard to those guilty of capital sins, in the early ages of the Church, may be briefly stated as follows:*

In the second century HERMAS in excessive rigorism argues that those who commit a capital sin after the reception of Baptism can hope for no pardon. But he admits that not all teachers hold this view, and grants absolution once in this life. JUSTIN and IRENÆUS hold that all sins can be forgiven. TERTUL-

[60] *Ep.*, 57, 1.

[61] CYPRIAN indicates as much in *Ep.*, 19, 2, where he declares that the calling of a council is necessary to settle the matter, "*quoniam non paucorum nec ecclesiae unius aut unius provinciae, sed totius orbis haec causa est.*" The whole Church was interested in the question, and hence the matter could not have been very clear; and it must have involved a leniency hitherto unknown, at least in so general a manner. STUFLER says (*Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1909, 238 f. and 240) that CYPRIAN himself "formally and emphatically" denies that he had changed his mind in regard to the penitential system. He has in mind *Ep.*, 55, 3, which, however, is more of an argument against his view than for it. The text reads: "*Quoniam de meo quoque actu motus videris, mea apud te et persona et causa purganda est, ne me aliquis existimet, a proposito meo leviter recessisse, et cum evangelicum vigorem primo et inter initia defenderim, postea videar animum meum a censura priore flexisse, ut his, qui libellis conscientiam suam maculaverint vel nefanda sacrificia commiserint, laxandam pacem putaverim; quod utrumque non sine librata diu et ponderata ratione a me factum est.*" Here CYPRIAN admits a change towards a more lenient practice, but says it was not adopted without due deliberation. Evidently STUFLER has failed to note the word "*leviter.*"

[62] *Ep.*, 57.

LIAN, in his *De Paenitentia,* holds out the hope of pardon for all sinners; those guilty of capital sins, however, can be forgiven but once. Yet it is not certain that in all these passages there is question of *ecclesiastical absolution;* they may simply refer to the pardon of God.

The *edict of Pope Callistus,* issued in the year 220, proved of vast importance to the Western Church. It was one of the causes that contributed to the schism of HIPPOLYTUS, who in his *Philosophumena* (IX, 12), among other charges directed against Callistus, says: "He [Callistus] was *the first* (πρῶτος) to forgive men the sins of impurity, by declaring that he forgave all sins." [63] These words have been regarded as a strong proof that before the time of HIPPOLYTUS sins of impurity were not forgiven in the Church.[64] ESSER attempted to weaken this evidence by an analysis of the text of TERTULLIAN'S *De Pudicitia,* thinking that this passage "is *as little deserving of credence as* the other venomous charges that HIPPOLYTUS directs against CALLISTUS." [65] FUNK [66] declined this conclusion, but accepted Esser's explanation of the second part of the text (λέγων πᾶσιν, etc.), namely that HIPPOLYTUS intends specifically to say here that CALLISTUS claims for the Church the power to absolve from all sins without exception. In his latest contribution to the subject [67] ESSER presents in favor of his contention an argument which I think is convincing, though, *according to his interpretation, the text of Hippolytus loses much of its value* as an explanation of the edict of CALLISTUS. ESSER calls attention to the context of HIPPOLYTUS'

[63] . . . καὶ πρῶτος τὰ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συγχωρεῖν ἐπενόησε, λέγων πᾶσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφίεσθαι ἁμαρτίας.

[64] Cfr. FUNK, *Theol. Quartalschr.,* 1906, 562.

[65] *Die Bussschriften Tertullians,* 28.

[66] *Loc. cit.,* 565.

[67] *Katholik,* 1908, I, 107 ff.

letter. HIPPOLYTUS maintains that CALLISTUS received all, even the most abandoned sinners, into his "school," and in defence of his conduct appealed to the parable of the tares among the wheat and to the clean and unclean animals that NOE placed in the ark. Thus we can understand what HIPPOLYTUS means when he represents CALLISTUS as declaring that he forgave all sins. We can understand also the words, "he was *the first* to pardon the sins of impurity." *This sentence does not refer to the edict of Callistus in regard to those guilty of impurity, but relates to his supposed lax practice;* — the examples given by HIPPOLYTUS show that this Pope was extremely indulgent in regard to sins of the flesh.

As a general thing, in the time of Tertullian, apostasy and murder were not as yet pardoned in the Western Church. For, in several passages of his *De Pudicitia,* that writer charges CALLISTUS with inconsistency (in forgiving impurity), since idolaters and murderers were excluded from communion in the Church.[68] These sins, he says, are of the same nature as impurity, for they are all directed immediately against God. I fully agree with FUNK, when he says [69] that according to these passages, "idolaters and murderers, both before and after the edict, even when admitted to penance, were forever excluded from full membership in the Church."

ESSER's objections against this view [70] are *not de-*

[68] TERTULLIAN states this in four places, namely, c. 5, 9, 12, 22. In c. 12 we read: *"Neque idololatriae neque sanguini pax ab ecclesiis redditur";* further, c. 22: *"Quaecumque ratio moecho et fornicatori pacem ecclesiasticam reddit, eadem debebit et homicidae et idololatrae paenitentibus subvenire, certe negatori et utique illi, quem in proelio confessionis tormentis conluctatum saevitia deiecit."*

[69] *Theol. Quartalschr.,* 1906, 558.

[70] *Katholik,* 1908, II, 98 ff. STUFLER (*Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.,* 1908, 36) also seeks to prove that TERTULLIAN voluntarily deceives his readers in regard to idolaters and murderers, since at Rome those guilty of capital sins were never permanently excommunicated. *But this neither Esser nor Stufler has proved.*

cisive. He points to the "bitter and partly unjust polemic" of TERTULLIAN, and says that "the passages in question are interlarded with palpable and gross falsehoods, which cast a stain on the literary honor of TERTULLIAN and his controversial methods." But opinions differ as to TERTULLIAN'S alleged dishonesty. In his attack on the hated Psychics he may have said things that were not quite right or consistent. The tricks of the lawyer are also to be found in his works, but it is another question whether, because of this, he is to be charged with mendacity when, four times in succession in his work *De Pudicitia,* he repeats the same statement in regard to the Roman system of penance. ESSER further appeals to *De Pudicitia* 3, in which Tertullian states an objection of the Catholics against the Montanists to the effect that penance which does not lead to forgiveness is purposeless. But this is expressed in too general terms to justify the inference that at that time all sins were formally pardoned at Rome by the granting of ecclesiastical reconciliation. TERTULLIAN did not attach this meaning to the sentence, or he would never have asserted, as he does repeatedly in his writings, that Catholics did not grant reconciliation to apostates and murderers. Finally, ESSER objects that, according to the letter written by the Roman clergy to the clergy of Carthage, in the year 250 (CYPR., *Ep.,* 8, 30–31), the sin of idolatry was at that period pardoned at Rome. But it does not follow from this that such was the case in 220, when TERTULLIAN wrote his *De Pudicitia.* Besides, according to the letters referred to, absolution was given to idolaters only at the time of death, and those who did not fall into a serious illness are referred to the ruling of the next pope.

ESSER can certainly be upheld in his opinion that the expressions of TERTULLIAN do not prove that in his

day the *Church universally* refused to grant absolution for these sins; *but it was refused at this period in the churches of Rome and Africa, although both Esser and Stufler strenuously deny that such was the case at Rome.* On this point, I dare not accuse TERTULLIAN of error or wilful deception.[71] His utterances create the same impression which, as we have seen above, is to be gathered from the Epistles of CYPRIAN.

It was only under the stress of the Decian persecution that apostates obtained pardon, first at Rome, then in Carthage, but in both places generally only at the hour of death. The epistolary correspondence between Rome and Carthage at that time, especially ST. CYPRIAN'S *Epistle* 55, makes it seem decidedly probable that the granting of communion to apostates in the hour of death was regarded as a relaxation of the practice that had previously prevailed. It was this very relaxation that co-operated in the rise of a schism at Rome; for the main charge of NOVATIAN against POPE CORNELIUS was that he granted absolution to apostates. Grievous sinners were treated with the greatest severity in Spain, for the Council of Elvira bars 18 different categories of sinners, among them apostates and the impure, from ecclesiastical reconciliation, even on their deathbed.

The rigor of the primitive Church in her treatment of grievous sinners *appears to us to-day almost inexplicable.* It is commonly said that she regarded herself as a community of saints, and therefore re-

[71] In order to deprive TERTULLIAN'S utterances of much of their weight, ESSER goes so far as to say (*Katholik*, 1908, I, 103): "There are grave objections against the commonly received view, which would consider the bitter personal attacks in *De Pudicitia* to be directed against the Roman Bishop. . . . There is no reason why the attacked and abused bishop referred to as *benedictus papa* and *apostolice*, may not be the bishop of Carthage." I cannot get myself to believe this. Leaving aside all else, this view is flatly contradicted by *De Pud.*, c. 21.

fused to admit the catechumens to Baptism, except after a long probation, and expelled from her communion forever such of her members as proved themselves unworthy. She was able to do this, because during the centuries of persecution only those attached themselves to her who were fully convinced of her divine origin and firmly determined to bear the yoke of the Lord. The following considerations should also be kept in mind:

The Church was well aware that the Lord had come to seek the lost sheep and to save them, and that this was her proper mission; she knew the parables of the Lost Sheep, of the Lost Drachma, and of the Prodigal Son. But she also knew that it was written (1 *John* 5, 16): "He that knoweth his brother to sin a sin which is not to death, let him ask, and life shall be given to him, who sinneth not to death. There is a sin unto death, for that I say not that any man ask." Further (*Heb.* 6, 4–6): "For it is impossible for those who were once illuminated, have tasted also the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, have moreover tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, and are fallen away; to be renewed again to penance, crucifying again to themselves the Son of God, and making Him a mockery." WINDISCH [71a] and JÜLICHER [71b] have interpreted these passages as indicative of a class of sins, especially apostasy, which were unpardonable. WINDISCH claims (357 and *passim*) that the "authentic Christian doctrine" offered no remission for grievous sin committed after Baptism. Already in the Old Testament, HELI had said to his sons (1 *Kings* 2, 25): "If one man shall sin against another, God may be appeased in his behalf; but if a man shall

[71a] *Taufe und Sünde im Altesten Christentum bis auf Origenes*, Tübingen, 1908, esp. p. 294 f.

[71b] *Einleit. in das N. T.* 6th ed. 129.

sin against the Lord, who shall pray for him?" Our Lord's declaration in regard to the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost (*Matt.* 12, 31 f.) was applied by many to the sin of apostasy. In the writings of different Patristic authors we find these passages accumulated for the sole purpose of proving that all sins are not pardoned.[72] We can easily imagine, therefore, how difficult it was for the early Christians to arrive at a golden mean between expressions of Scripture which seemed to be contradictory, and how it came about that too rigid ideas gained the upper hand. Before the outbreak of the Decian persecution, CYPRIAN drew from the words of Christ in regard to the sin against the Holy Ghost and from 1 *Kings* 2, 25, the conclusion that the "sins against God" could not be pardoned by the Church.[73] He appears to have believed at that time that apostates, even when they enjoyed the intercession of martyrs, could not be reconciled.[74]

The most rigorous discipline, it appears, prevailed in the second century. The Apostolic times were much milder, as we see from the reception of the incestuous man into the Church of Corinth by ST. PAUL (*2 Cor.* 2, 10) [75] and from ST. JOHN'S treatment of the converted robber.[76] In the third century the Roman Church exercised the most decided influence in favor

[72] Cf. ORIGEN, *De Orat.*, 28, and CYPRIAN, *Ep.*, 16, 2.

[73] *Testimonia*, III, 28.

[74] STUFLER objects to this (*Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1909, 243) on the ground that CYPRIAN in his *Ad Fortunatum* (c. 4) concludes from 1 *Kings* 2, 25: "*non facile ignoscere Deum idololatris.*" But this work was not composed until after the Decian persecution, and does not help us in gauging the opinion of CYPRIAN before this event. How severe he was regarding the reception of apostates at the hour of death, at the beginning of the persecution, can be seen in *Ep.*, 18–20.

[75] This incident was so annoying to TERTULLIAN after he had become a Montanist, that he (*De Pud.*, 14 and 15) sought to prove that the man received back into the Church is not identical with the one guilty of incest mentioned in St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians.

[76] CLEM. OF ALEX., *Quis Dives*, c. fin. and Euseb., *H. E.*, I, 23.

of moderation and thereby paved the way for the schisms of HIPPOLYTUS and NOVATIAN.[77]

9. *In the Oriental Church, we hear of little controversy in regard to penance and the refusal of absolution by the Church.* The only Oriental writer who holds capital sins to be unpardonable is ORIGEN. "There are some," he writes (*De Oratione,* 28), "who, I know not how, arrogate to themselves a power exceeding that of the priests (ἱερατικὴ τάξις), presumably because they know nothing of sacerdotal science; they boast that they can forgive the sins of idolatry, adultery, and fornication, *as if their prayer over such criminals* could pardon *mortal sins.*"[78] ORIGEN evidently denies to the Church the power of forgiving mortal sins. Quite recently, D'ALÈS and STUFLER[79] have interpreted the passage differently. They hold that what ORIGEN wished to deny was that the bishops can forgive sins by their *prayer alone,* without the previous performance, on the part of the sinner, of penitential works. But this interpretation is untenable, as it does not agree with the context. In c. 28, ORIGEN had developed the following line of thought: The Apostles received the Holy Ghost from CHRIST ("Receive ye the Holy Ghost," *John* 20, 22), in order that they might have discernment in remitting what God remits, and *retaining the sins that are incurable* (τὰ ἀνίατα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων). The priests of the Old Law offered sacrifices only for certain sins, not for murder, adultery, and other grievous crimes. In like manner the Apostles knew, for they were taught by the Holy Ghost, for what sins sacrifices can be offered, and for what sins they cannot. Heli said to his sons,

[77] HIPPOLYTUS also taught heretical doctrines on the Trinity.

[78] ὡς διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς αὐτῶν περὶ τῶν ταῦτα τετολμηκότων λυομένης καὶ τῆς πρὸς θάνατον ἁμαρτίας.

[79] D'ALÈS, *La Théologie d'Hippolyte,* 1906, 44 ff. STUFLER, "*Die Sündenvergebung bei Origenes,*" in the *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.,* 1907, 193 ff.

Ophni and Phineas," "If one man shall sin against another, God may be appeased in his behalf; but if a man shall sin against the Lord, who shall pray for him?" And St. John says, "There is a sin unto death, for that I say not that any man may ask" (1 *John* 5, 16). Then ORIGEN proceeds with the words that have been cited above: "There are some who, etc." Hence he is fully aware that there are sins which *cannot be forgiven,* and he adduces evidence to prove this from both the Old and New Testaments. Consequently, it is right to conclude that the disputed passage also refers to such sins. By saying that these sins cannot be forgiven through the prayer of the priest, he means the formula of reconciliation. This formula, at that time, was deprecatory in form, and hence was a prayer. That the priests in question thought they could by a mere prayer, without any penance on the part of the sinner, remit sins, as STUFLER puts it, is nowhere asserted by ORIGEN.[80]

In still another passage[81] *Origen evinces the same*

[80] Strangely enough, STUFLER still clings to his interpretation of the text (*Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1908, 543). He refers me to the words given above, that the priest should remit what God remits (*ἀφίησιν ἃ ἐὰν ἀφῇ ὁ θεός*) and remarks: "What then shall the bishops remit, if they cannot absolve from capital sins, and other sins did not have to be confessed?" I reply: (a) Nowhere have I said that other sins besides capital sins did not have to be confessed, but I said that "public penance was absolutely demanded only of those guilty of capital sin." (b) ORIGEN mentions but two sins which he says cannot be forgiven, namely, idolatry and fornication. According to his conception, therefore, there are others that can be forgiven. (c) Where ORIGEN says, the priests ought to remit what God remits, he expressly adds: "and retain the incurable sins (*καὶ κρατεῖ τὰ ἀνίατα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων*)."

[81] *Comment. in Matth.*, series no. 114 (*P.G.*, XIII, 1762): "*Forsitan autem et omnes homines, quando denegant Iesum, ita ut peccatum denegationis eorum recipiat medicinam, ante galli cantum denegare eum videntur, nondum eis nato sole iustitiae, nec adpropinquante eis ortu ipsius; si autem post ortum huiusmodi solis ad animam volentes peccaverimus, postquam accepimus scientiam veritatis, iam non relinquitur nobis sacrificium pro peccato, sed terribile iudicium et zelus ignis, qui comesturus est inimicos . . . ita ut nec in hoc saeculo nec in futuro remissionem possimus accipere, si dei filium denegemus.*"

severity, but this time he is concerned solely with the sin of apostasy. Treating of the fall of Peter he remarks that Peter was in a position to receive pardon for his sins, because they were committed "at night," that is to say, he was not yet sanctified by the blood of Christ, and the Holy Ghost had not descended upon mankind. But the same cannot be said of those who possess the Christian faith; if they fall away, their sin is *irremissible* both in this life and in the next, for there is no *propitiatory sacrifice apportioned for it,* only the terrible judgment. There is question here of the sin of apostasy, and *not of the sin against the Holy Ghost* as we understand it (namely, the sin of final impenitence) and as STUFLER (p. 226) would interpret the passage. In order to prove that idolatry is irremissible, ORIGEN appeals to the words of Holy Scripture in regard to the sin against the Holy Ghost.

But in some of his *other works,* especially those which were written after the year 244, ORIGEN grants the *ecclesiastical penance and reconciliation at least once for all sins.* Thus he writes *Contra Celsum,* III, 50: "The Christians mourn as dead those who have committed licentiousness or any other sin, because they are lost and dead to God. But if they give sufficient evidence of a sincere change of heart, they are received back into the fold as though they were risen from the dead." ORIGEN is so little consistent in his teaching on penance, that in one and the same treatise he declares that all sins can be forgiven by penance, and that there is no hope of pardon for those who have denied the faith, appealing for this latter assertion to *Hebr.* 6, 4–6.[82] In his commentary on the Gospel of St. John, he declares, after referring to *Hebr.* 6, 4–6, that "such *as fall away from Christ* and return to a pagan life"[83] can have their fetters loos-

[82] *Hom. in Jerem.,* 21, 12 and 13, 2.

[83] *Lib.* 28, c. 7, in Preuschen's edition, p. 396.

ened by the power of the word of Jesus and through the mediation of those who have power to loose them, even as Lazarus was once raised up from the dead; — and then in the same book,[84] appealing to the same Scriptural text(*Hebr.* 6, 4–6) and to *Matth.* 12, 3, he says that those who sin after having received the Holy Ghost can find no pardon.

The author of the Syrian *Didascalia,* written in the last half of the third century, is the strongest champion for the lenient treatment of contrite sinners, and makes the bishop responsible for any one *who, though penitent, is not received back,* and who, because of this severity, joins the heathen or the heretics. This writer explicitly numbers *adultery and apostasy* among the sins that can be forgiven.[85]

The Oriental Church, about and before the year 200, *affords us but two expressions in regard to grievous sins.* Bishop Dionysius of Corinth ordered[86] all sinners to be "received," no matter what their crime might be; and Clement of Alexandria says[87] that God in His mercy has provided *one* opportunity of doing penance for those who fall after receiving the faith. Neither passage gives us any sure ground for assuming that it is *ecclesiastical* reconciliation which is referred to.

The material which the Oriental Church affords us in regard to capital sins, *is too scanty to enable us to draw from it any definite conclusion.* In general, we have the same picture as the Western Church furnishes, although the penitential discipline seems to have been less severe in the Orient. P. A. Kirsch

[84] Cap. 15, ed. Preuschen, p. 408.

[85] A German translation of the *Didascalia* has been edited by Achelis and Flemming (*Die syr. Didaskalia,* 1904). All the passages relating to penance have been gathered together by Achelis in a supplement pp. 305–307, and also in even better shape by P. A. Kirsch (*Zur Geschichte der kath. Beichte,* 1902, 273–282).

[86] Euseb., *H.E.,* IV, 23.

[87] *Strom.,* II, 13 (*P. G.,* VIII, 995).

goes too far, however, when he asserts:[88] "For all three categories of capital sins, there was, in the Oriental Church, at all times at least one pardon granted." *This cannot be proved;* perhaps the practice in the Orient, as in the West, was not everywhere the same.

Murder seems to have been regarded as the worst of all the capital sins. In his Canonical Epistle (can. 7), GREGORY THAUMATURGUS says of murderers: "It is necessary to debar them even from being auditors [in the public congregations], until some common decision about them is reached by the saints assembled in council." He also bars them from performing public penance, but holds out to them the prospect of an alleviation in the penitential discipline. The synod of Ancyra, A. D. 314, decreed (can. 22) that murderers should not receive holy Communion except on their deathbed. As this synod, generally speaking, is characterized by greater mildness than its predecessors, we may infer that in the third century the treatment of murderers was more severe.

§ 9. Public Confession

1. Public penance comprised three distinct acts,[1] namely, confession (*confessio*), satisfaction (*satisfactio*), and absolution (*absolutio* or *reconciliatio*). Greek and Latin writers comprise all three of these acts under the single term *exomologesis* (ἐξομολόγησις), although, especially in earlier times, this term was synonymous with the simple avowal of the crime committed. Properly speaking, the word had reference to open or public penance, interior penance being indicated by the term *paenitentia.*[2] *Exomologesis* orig-

[88] *Op. cit.,* p. 282.

[1] Cfr. CYPRIAN, *De Lapsis,* 29.

[2] TERTULLIAN, *De Paenitentia,* c. 12: "*Paenitentiam enim et ministerium eius exomologesin abiecerat.*" Just a few sentences before, TERTULLIAN, in speaking of Nabuchodonosor, says: "*Diu enim paenitentiam domino immolarat, septenni squalore exomologesin operatus.*" Here TER-

inally meant confession, and we are indebted to TERTULLIAN for an explanation of the manner in which this expression came to denote all that related to public penance.[3] "This act," he writes, "which is more usually expressed and spoken of under a Greek name, is the *exomologesis,* whereby we confess our sins to the Lord, not indeed as if He were ignorant of them, but *inasmuch as by confession, satisfaction is prepared, of confession repentance is born, by repentance God is appeased. Thus exomologesis is a discipline for man's prostration and humiliation, enjoining upon him a demeanor calculated to move God to mercy.*"

2. In the days of Christian antiquity *the confession of sins was sometimes public, sometimes private.* As regards the obligation and extent of public confession, scholars are at variance. Below (p. 197 ff.) I shall treat of the question whether it was obligatory to do public penance for secret sins, and shall answer that question in the negative. Another question has reference to the confession of sins. Some scholars maintain that public confession was demanded for all capital sins, whether public or private. This view in earlier times was held by MORINUS[4] and to-day is warmly advocated by KIRSCH. "A public confession," writes the latter, "and a public penance were demanded for both public and secret sins. *Nowhere in the early Church do we find public penance without public confession,* as is evidenced by the testimony of TERTULLIAN and CYPRIAN."[5] Others hold that in the early ages of the Church, public confession formed no

TULLIAN takes the term "exomologesis" as referring to all the acts of public penance. On the other hand, ST. CYPRIAN understands it as indicating the performance of the penance imposed, before absolution is granted (cf. *Ep.*, 4, 4; 15, 1; 16, 2; 17, 2, and other places).

[3] *De Paen.*, c. 9.

[4] *Commentarius Hist.*, II, 9; V, 12.

[5] P. A. KIRSCH, *Zur Gesch. der kath. Beichte*, p. 71 f.

part of public penance, and *by the performance of the penance imposed upon him, the sinner merely proclaimed himself an offender and at the same time in a general way made known the gravity and nature of his offence.* Among earlier writers PETAVIUS took this view,[6] and in later times he has been followed by STEITZ.[7] At present it is defended by BOUDINHON [8] and BATIFFOL.[9] BATIFFOL claims that many misconceptions would have been avoided, both now and formerly, had it been kept in view that the *exomologesis* included neither a public nor a private confession of sins.

It seems to me that the truth of the matter must lie midway between these extremes. In all cases of capital *sins committed publicly, public confession was required in the presence of the congregation; not so for secret sins. If a sin had been committed in secret, the offender was free to perform a public penance without a public avowal of his guilt.*

In the early Church, as we learn from ST. AUGUSTINE,[10] *three methods* were employed in making confession of capital sins. Either the sinner accused himself, or he was judged guilty by a civil or ecclesiastical tribunal. In all three cases a public penance was imposed; therefore this penance was not always preceded by voluntary confession, for it might well happen that an offender was condemned to ecclesiastical censure upon the accusation of another. It was the duty of each and every Christian who had knowledge of a grave crime, to denounce the delinquent before the ecclesiastical authorities. ST. AUGUSTINE

[6] *Animadv. in Epiphanium*, fol. 245–251, where he discusses the question: "*Fueritne quondam publica peccatorum confessio ecclesiae moribus recepta?*"

[7] *Das römische Busssakrament*, p. 75.

[8] *Revue d'Hist. et de Litt. Rel.*, 1897, p. 325.

[9] *Études d'Hist.*, I, 3rd ed., 199.

[10] *Sermon.*, 351, 4, 10.

says (*op. cit.*) that in his time many failed to make such denunciation, either because they had not sufficient evidence to sustain the charge, or because they sought to find in the sins of others an excuse for their own. St. John Chrysostom *demands that denunciation be made even though the accused be a person of wealth and influence.*[11] "Point him out to me; I would rather lose my life than permit him to cross the threshold of the Church, if he stubbornly perseveres in his conduct."

There are a number of instances which go to show that for all publicly committed capital sins a public avowal before the people was demanded.

We have one case in a letter of Pope Cornelius addressed to St. Cyprian.[12] Three confessors, among whom was a presbyter by name of Maximus, had gone over to the party of Novatian. Later they acknowledged their error before the Roman presbytery, and, "*as was fitting*" (*quod erat consequens*), made open confession of their guilt before the assembled people in church. Another example is *the penance of the Emperor Theodosius I.* St. Ambrose relates that he saw the emperor, after the massacre of the Thessalonians, prostrate himself in the Milan cathedral, in view of all the people, and heard him confess his sins with tears and implore pardon for them.[13]

Hardened sinners, who had given public scandal, but refused to submit to the penitential discipline of the Church, *were officially declared public offenders.* St. Basil, in a letter to St. Athanasius, informs the latter that a sentence of excommunication against the governor of Libya, whose birthplace was in Cappadocia, and which had been forwarded to the Church of Cæsarea, had been publicly read and that the excom-

[11] *Hom. adv. Judaeos,* I, 3 (Montf., I, 593).

[12] Cypr., *Ep.,* 49.

[13] *De Obitu Theodosii,* c. 34.

municated man would receive neither fire nor water nor shelter from the faithful.[14] The same BASIL writes on another occasion that a sinner had been reprimanded in the presence of the congregation, and, should he fail to mend his ways, should be publicly branded (ἐκκήρυκτος), and his sentence announced to the whole neighborhood, so that no one may have any sort of social intercourse with him.[15]

No public confession, however, was exacted in the case of capital sins committed in secret.[16] This proposition can be amply demonstrated from contemporary sources. ORIGEN advises that great care be taken in choosing the one to whom sins are to be confessed, and continues in this strain:[17] "Should this physician consider your disease of such a nature that it must be made known and cured in the presence of the assembled congregation, you should follow the advice of the experienced physician." When CYPRIAN counsels those who have entertained voluntary thoughts of apostasy to confess their sins, he undoubtedly has in mind private confession made to the priests.[18] The Syrian bishop, APHRAATES (d. 367), in treating of penance[19] in one of his homilies, says: "Whosoever shall show you his wounds, him grant a cure by penance. Whosoever is ashamed to reveal his disorder, him caution that he do not conceal it from you. But whosoever unbosoms himself, his secret keep, lest because of him evil and inimical men confound the innocent with the guilty." ST. CHRYSOSTOM writes:[20] "Why art

[14] *Ep.*, 60 (*P.G.*, XXXII, 415 f.).

[15] *Ep.*, 258 (*P.G.*, XXXII, 1023).

[16] This opinion is shared by BLOTZER, "*Die geheimen Sünden in der altchristlichen Bussdisziplin*," in the *Zeitschrift f. kath. Theol.*, 1887, 483 ff. and 593 ff.

[17] *Hom. in Psalm.*, XXXVII, II, 5.

[18] *De Lapsis*, 28–29. IRENÆUS (*Adv. Haer.*, I, 13, 7) is not as clear in regard to public confession as FUNK (KRAUS, *Realenzykl.*, I, 181 b) would have us believe; for the phrase εἰς φανερὸν ὁμολογοῦνται may also mean: "they publicly do penance."

[19] Cf. BERT, *Aphrahats, des persischen Weisen Homilien aus dem Syrischen übersetzt* (*Texte u. Unters.*, III, 3–4) L. 1888, 114 ff.

[20] *De Lazaro Cont.*, IV, 4 (Montf., I, 757 e).

thou ashamed to confess thy sins? . . . I do not compel thee to come into a crowded theatre, where there are many witnesses. Only tell me thy sin privately, so that I may heal thine wound." St. Augustine lays down the following principle:[21] "Every fault committed in public must be censured publicly; but secret faults are to be censured in secret." As Nectarius, patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 391, on account of the scandal caused by the public fall of a confessor-priest, abolished the investigation of secret sins in the presence of witnesses,[22] so in like manner Pope Leo I., somewhat later, forbade the custom of reading aloud in church or in any manner publishing the sins of those who had privately confessed and asked for a penance,[23] because this would be "*contrary to the Apostolic rule.*" *This papal command was no more a complete abolition of public penance than was the rule laid down by Nectarius.*

3. *What sins, we may ask, were subject to public confession and public penance?* They were those which in the early Church were usually called mortal or capital sins (*peccata mortalia* or *capitalia*). St. Augustine refers to them as the "horrible (*immania*) sins which exclude the offender from the body of the Church," that is to say, entail excommunication.[24] The scope of these sins, however, was not fully determined at first. As long as the practice of public penance prevailed, the three following sins, at least, were always regarded as mortal, namely, apostasy (*idololatria*),[25] impurity (*adulterium* and *fornicatio*),

[21] *Sermon.*, 82, 7, 10.

[22] Cf. my *Jahrbücher*, p. 539.

[23] *Ep.*, 168, 2.

[24] *De Symbolo*, VII, 13. Stufler (*Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1908, p. 24) maintains that there were other sins that entailed excommunication, but this assertion is untenable.

[25] *Heresy and schism* were not numbered among the capital sins. How considerately repentant heretics were treated in the early ages, can be seen from Tertullian's account (*Apol.*, 30) of the conduct of the Church of Rome toward the Gnostics Valentinus and Marcion,

and murder (*homicidium*).[26] Sometimes these three sins are referred to as the only ones that are mortal; then again, especially in the fourth century, the number of mortal sins is much larger. The three sins in question were considered by TERTULLIAN as "unpardonable."[27] Although this was done after his views had been tainted with Montanism, we find a tendency to take the wording of 1 *John* 5, 16 literally also in strictly orthodox circles and to admit that there is *a sin unto death,* for which no man may ask pardon.

But how did it happen that these three sins were regarded as the most grievous? TERTULLIAN[28] gives us the answer, when he says, that all those sins are mortal that are committed *against God or against His temple.* Idolatry is a turning away from God, while impurity and murder are crimes against the human body, which is His temple. TERTULLIAN also holds that these three sins are mentioned in *the decree of the First Council of Jerusalem,*[29] and it is probable that he was the first to expound the decree in this forced and partisan sense. PACIAN[30] followed him in this inter-

as also from IRENÆUS (*Adv. Haer.,* III, 4, 3), where we find mention of the repeated conversions of CERDON, a Gnostic, to the Church. TERTULLIAN, as a Montanist, denied pardon to all who had fallen into heresy (*De Pud.,* 19; ed. Wissowa, p. 262, 20). The Greek writers JOHN CLIMACHUS, about the year 600 (*Scal., Par. Gr.* 15, *P.G.,* LXXXVIII, 889b) and ANASTASIUS SINAITA, about the year 700 (*Hodegos,* c. 85, *P.G.,* LXXXIX, 712b) deplore the fact that although murderers and adulterers are cut off from the Church "*by the Apostolic canons,*" returned *heretics* are permitted to participate in the holy mysteries. Cfr. EUSEBIUS, *H.E.,* V, 28, 12 and *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.,* I, 4th ed., 439.

[26] TERTULLIAN was the first to mention these three explicitly (cf. *De Pud.,* c. 5). HIPPOLYTUS, shortly after designates them as mortal sins properly so called (cf. *Comm. on Proverbs, P.G.,* X, 621). This threefold enumeration may be traced to Montanistic influences, as ADAM (*Der Kirchenbegriff Tertullians,* 1907, p. 86) and ESSER (*Katholik,* 1908, p. 106) have contended. ESSER (*op cit.*) goes a step further, and makes TERTULLIAN the originator of the classification. This, however, we think, is very improbable; at all events it cannot be proved.

[27] *De Pud.,* c. 2.

[28] *De Pud.,* 21: "*Mortalia, quae in ipsum fuerint admissa et in templum eius.*"

[29] *De Pud.,* c. 5.

[30] *Paraenesis ad Paenitentiam,* c. 4, *P.L.,* XIII, 1083 f.

pretation, and ST. AUGUSTINE mentions, without, however, approving it.[31] The Apostles commanded the Christian converts from paganism to abstain from things sacrificed to idols and from blood and things strangled and from fornication.[32] As the phrase "from things strangled" was missing in the Latin text before the time of ST. JEROME, the capital sins could be found in the Apostolic decree; and this was doubtless done when their number, three, was already fixed.[33] The classification of these three sins probably originated with the Jewish rabbis, for we repeatedly find this remark made in the Talmud: When a Gentile asks a Jew to transgress the law, threatening him with death, the Jew may obey, except in the case of idolatry, fornication, and murder.[34]

Rightly does STEITZ [35] *call attention to the fact that these three sins must be regarded as generic terms embracing each a whole class.* TERTULLIAN in another passage had already added fraud, blasphemy, and false testimony to the number of capital sins.[36] ST. CYPRIAN included fraud also.[37] The Spanish Synod of Elvira, held about the year 300, excluded 18 classes of sinners from all pardon even at the moment of death. PACIAN placed blasphemy on a par with the eating of meat that had been sacrificed to idols, and demanded ecclesiastical penance also of those who had

[31] *Speculum de Scriptura Sacra, P.L.*, XXXIV, 994.

[32] *Acts* 15, 28.

[33] So also ROLFFS, *Das Toleranzedikt des römischen Bischofs Kallist*, 1893, p. 46, note 2.

[34] Cf. the texts in Preuschen, *Tertullians Schriften De Paenitentia und De Pudicitia*, 1890, p. 34.

[35] *"Die Bussdisziplin der morgenländischen Kirche,"* in the *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theol.*, 1863, p. 97.

[36] *De Pud.*, 19: *"Sunt autem et contraria istis, ut graviora et exitiosa, quae veniam non capiant: homicidium, idololatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia, utique et moechia et fornicatio, et si qua alia violatio templi dei." Adv. Marc.*, IV, 9: *"Septem maculis capitalium delictorum . . . idololatria, blasphemia, homicidio, adulterio, stupro, falso testimonio, fraude."*

[37] *De Bono Patientiae*, c. 14. TERTULLIAN does the same in *De Idololatria*, c. 1.

committed one of the three capital sins, *even though only in thought.*[38] St. Cyprian strongly recommended that such sins of thought should be confessed and atoned for.[39] *The list of capital sins* in the fourth century can be reconstructed from the decisions of the councils of that period, and from the so-called *penitential letters,* especially that of St. Gregory of Nyssa to Letojus, bishop of Melitene, and the three so-called canonical Epistles of St. Basil to Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium. Idolatry was made to comprise divination and magic; impurity, marriage with a sister or a brother of a deceased spouse, marriage with a virgin consecrated to God, or a widow; while homicide was reckoned with murder. The writings just mentioned also enumerate robbery, burglary, profanation of graves, and stealing from the Church, as crimes *incurring a special penance.* St. Basil even goes so far as to include ordinary theft.

The fourth century is marked by a tendency to increase the number of mortal sins. St. Basil censures "the wicked custom, the pernicious tradition of men," [40] which strenuously condemns a few sins, like murder and adultery, and treats the others, like anger, slander, and avarice, with undue leniency, as if they deserved only a slight rebuke,— in spite of the words of St. Paul that "whosoever commits these sins is worthy of death." St. Augustine [41] says that in his time opinion in regard to mortal sin (*peccata mortifera*) was divided. Some there are, he says, who look upon but three sins as mortal, and exact public penance for these only, while others reckon in this category all the sins enumerated in *Gal.* 5, 19–21 and

[38] *Paraenesis,* c. 5, *P.L.,* XIII, 1084.

[39] *De Lapsis,* c. 28–29.

[40] *De Judicio Dei,* c. 7; *P.G.,* XXXI, 669.

[41] *De Fide et Operibus,* 18, 33; 19, 34.

1 *Cor.* 6, 9 f., because St. Paul explicitly says that all who are guilty of these sins will not inherit the kingdom of God. In another passage [42] St. Augustine positively declares that all sins enumerated in 1 *Cor.* 6, 10 (among them avarice, theft, drunkenness, slander, and robbery) are mortal sins (*peccata mortifera*). In one of the pseudo-Augustinian sermons we find *all sins against the Decalogue* put down as mortal.[43] Cassian, besides the three recognized capital sins, regarded drunkenness, theft, and robbery as mortal.[44]

In the following centuries public penance was again limited to the three capital sins. Leo I. exacted canonical penance only from those who had actually committed these sins in the strict sense of their definition.[45]

During the Middle Ages, the name *capital sins* was applied to the seven great sins which were regarded as the source or root of all others. Evagrius Ponticus (c. 390) was the first to make a collection of these sins, *eight* in all.[46] This classification was adopted by Cassian in the fifth book of his *Conlationes,* entitled *"De octo principalibus vitiis."* St. Gregory the Great declares [47] that pride is the root of all evil, and its offspring are the seven chief sins (*septem principalia vitia*), the same that are called the seven deadly or capital sins in our catechism, with the exception that sadness (*tristitia*) takes the place of *sloth.* The ages that followed adopted the early enu-

[42] *Speculum de Script., P.L.,* XXXIV, 994.

[43] *Sermon.,* 351, 4, 7 (*P.L.,* XXXIX, 1542). This sermon is included among the authentic writings of St. Augustine in the Benedictine edition. P. Portalié (*Dictionnaire de Théologie Cath.,* art. *"Augustin,"* II, 2310 says of it: *"Examiné avec soin il n'a aucune parenté de style ni de langue avec les autres écrits d'Augustin."*

[44] *Conl.,* XXIII, 15.

[45] *Ep.,* 167, inquis., 19.

[46] He calls them λογισμοί and wrote a work entitled Ἀντιῤῥητικὸς περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ λογισμῶν (*P.G.,* XL, 1271–1278). The eight sins are: γαστριμαργία, πορνεία, φιλαργυρία, λύπη, ὀργή, ἀκηδία, κενοδοξία, ὑπερηφανία.

[47] *Moralia,* 31, 45, 87 (*P.L.,* LXXVI, 621).

meration of CASSIAN. PETER LOMBARD[48] was the first to popularize the sevenfold classification; he reckoned sloth (*acedia*) and sadness (*tristitia*) as one sin. It was in the thirteenth century that our present classification, with *pride* occupying the first and *sloth* the last place, came into vogue. ST. COLUMBA (d. 615) introduced the capital sins into the penitential discipline of the Church, and shortly after they received the name *capitalia* (instead of *principalia*) *vitia*. ALCUIN[49] admonishes priests to examine their penitents in regard to the eight capital sins.

§ 10. Public Penance

1. In the early days of Christianity there existed, throughout the universal Church, except in Ireland and England,[1] the custom of performing public penance. The general management of the penitential discipline in each diocese naturally lay in the hands of the bishop. It was he who decided whom to admit to penance, determined its duration, and, finally, granted reconciliation to the sinner. The synod of Carthage (A. D. 397) declared (can. 30): "The term of penance shall be determined by the bishop, in proportion to the gravity of the sin. Priests are not allowed, without the permission of the bishop, to absolve penitents, except in cases where the bishop is absent and there is urgent necessity." In cases of necessity, *deacons* also had the power of granting absolution.[2] This was also, at times, the custom in the

[48] *Liber Sent.*, II, dist. 42, 8.

[49] *De Officiis Divinis*, c. 13.

[1] *Paenit. Theodori*, I, c. 13, § 4 (in LEA, *A History*, II, 74).

[2] CYPRIAN, *Ep.*, 18, 1. "... *vel si presbyter repertus non fuerit et urgere exitus coeperit, apud diaconum quoque exomologesin facere delicti sui possint, ut manu eis in paenitentiam imposita veniant ad dominum cum pace.*" The council of Elvira (can. 32): "*Apud presbyterum, si quis gravi lapsu in ruinam mortis inciderit, placuit agere paenitentiam non debere, sed potius apud episcopum; cogente tamen infirmitate necesse est presbyterum communionem* [church

Middle Ages;[3] though St. Ambrose declared that the power of binding and loosing belongs to the priest alone.[4]

It used to be believed that in olden times every diocese had its *tribunal of penance,* at which the bishop, "surrounded by priests, deacons and a number of approved laymen," decided questions pertaining to penance.[5] But this institution cannot have been universal, since it is mentioned but twice, namely, by Tertullian and in the *Didascalia,* and in both of these references there is question of a commission which, under the presidency of the bishop or of priests, settled litigation among Christians and had authority to pronounce the sentence of excommunication;[6] it is not said in either of these passages that laymen took part in the proceedings.

In the fourth century, in many of the communities in the Orient, the duties of the bishop in regard to penitents were intrusted to one particular priest, who was known as the *penitentiary* (πρεσβύτερος ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας). Our knowledge of this custom rests exclusively

membership?] *praestare debere et diaconum, si ei jusserit sacerdos* [bishop]."

[3] The synod of Rouen, in 1231, decreed (can. 34; Mansi, 23, 218): "*Nullus diaconus eucharistiam det infirmis vel confessiones audiat . . . nisi cum sacerdos absens fuerit.*" In like manner the synod of Canterbury, in 1236 (can. 12; *ib.* 23, 420); cf. Hefele, *Konz.,* V, 1009. Albertus Magnus goes so far as to grant laymen the power of absolution in cases of necessity (*Comment. in Quatuor Libros Sent.,* IV, dist. 17, art. 58): "*Absolutio illa sacramentalis est, ut est baptismus a laico datus, et laicus eo casu est veri ministri, i. e. sacerdotis, vicarius.*" [Cf. R. Laurain, *De l'Intervention des laïques, des diacres et des abbesses dans l'administration de la pénitence,* Paris, 1897; G. Gromer, *Die Laienbeicht im Mittelalter,* München, 1909. N. Tr.]

[4] *De Paen.,* I, 2, 7.

[5] Cf. Frank, *Die Bussdisziplin,* 1867, 130 ff.

[6] Tertullian, *Apol.* 39: "*Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri judicii praejudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. Praesident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti.*" The *Didascalia* (XI) is more explicit in regard to this tribunal (see edition of Achelis and Flemming, p. 60. Cf. *Apostolic Const.,* II, 46 f.).

on the testimony of SOCRATES (*H.E.*, V, 19) and SOZOMENUS (*H.E.*, VII, 16), who also inform us that it was abolished in the year 391 by NECTARIUS, patriarch of Constantinople, in consequence of a public scandal.[7] The date of the origin of the office of penitentiary is wholly unknown.[8] Confession to a specially appointed priest was intended to supplant public accusation before the assembled congregation. It was the duty of this priest to investigate all mortal sins committed, and he was authorized to receive denunciations. In case the delinquent confessed his fault voluntarily, a suitable penance was imposed upon him by the penitentiary, who took care to see that it was carried out, and eventually granted absolution. Besides this he was at the same time the natural counsellor of all those who were oppressed by sin. BATIFFOL contends that this institution existed also at Rome, but the assertion is groundless.[9]

2. The question, *What sins were subject to public penance?* must be answered thus: *All capital sins, even if they were secret* (see above, p. 189 f.), *and therefore did not need to be publicly confessed, had to be expiated* according to the instruction of the bishop. Sins that were not reckoned among the capital faults *could be* publicly atoned for.

There can be no doubt that capital sins publicly committed had to be publicly atoned for. As regards

[7] I have treated of the functions of the penitentiary and the abolition of the office in my *Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius d. Gr.*, 1897, 537 ff. HOLL treats the subject even more extensively in his *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt*, 1898, 246 ff.

[8] SOCRATES dates the origin of the office of penitentiary back to the Novatian schism, about 250; SOZOMENUS traces it to the time of the Apostles, and FUNK adopts this view (see KRAUS, *Realenzyk.*, I, 184); on the other hand, LOOFS (*Leitfaden*, 340) claims that the year 250 is too early a date, because the institution of penitentiary priests meant the abandonment of public penance in all cases in which no public scandal had been given. This last I consider the more probable opinion.

[9] *Études d'Hist.*, I, 3rd ed., 200.

the capital sins committed in secret, the common opinion is that these too had to be publicly atoned for.[10] In the first edition of this book I myself contended that in the case of secret sins public penance was not obligatory,[11] but I am now in a position to express myself in more positive terms. *All capital sins committed in secret had to be made known to the bishop in order that he might impose a penance on the culprit; but there was no obligation to do penance for them publicly in such a manner that the nature of the sin could in any way be inferred from the penance.* Only in Spain, where the penitential discipline was rather rigid, does there appear to have existed an obligation of doing public penance for such sins.

This position is proved by the following texts. In his treatise De Lapsis (c. 28), St. Cyprian exhorts those Christians who had thought of sacrificing to idols, although they actually did not commit the crime, "to confess this sin to the priests," and to ask for a salutary penance. Their guilt, it is true, is slighter than if they had actually denied the faith, but it becomes greater if unatoned for.

Origen, in commenting on *Lev.* 5, 5 (according to the Septuagint: "If any one has committed any of these things, let him do penance for his sin"), says:[12] "Herein is contained a wonderful mystery, that we are commanded to confess our sins. For we ought to take every means to declare and publish all that we do. *If we do anything in secret,* if we have offended in speech or even in thought, all must be revealed.

[10] Cf. Morinus, *Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina in Administr. Sacr. Paen.*, lib. V, c. 8–12; P. A. Kirsch, *Zur Geschichte der katholischen Beichte*, 71 ff.; Vacandard, *Pénitence Publique dans l'Église Primitive*, Paris, 1903, 36 ff., and *Revue du Clergé Français*, 1909, p. 397 ff.

[11] See the first German edition of this work, p. 134 ff.

[12] *Hom. in Lev.*, III, 4 (De la Rue, II, 196).

all must be made manifest." In another passage, ORIGEN advises that great *care be taken in the selection* of a confessor, and adds:[13] "Should he consider your disease of such a nature that it must be made known to and cured in the presence of the whole congregation, so that others may be edified and you yourself healed, do it after due consideration, and according to the advice of an experienced physician."

In the fourth century, the Persian bishop APHRAATES expressed himself in a similar strain.[14] ST. BASIL declares: "According to the direction of the Fathers, adulteresses who have confessed their sins from a sense of devotion, or who have been convicted in some other way, shall not be proclaimed publicly, lest we be guilty of their execution."[15] This substantially coincides with the thirtieth canon of the *Council of Hippo,* A. D. 393, which reads: "If a crime is publicly known, the penitent shall appear before the judge [*i. e.,* publicly] and have hands imposed upon him before the apsis."

ST. AUGUSTINE writes:[16] "*As bishop, I know a murderer whom no one else knows;* I should like to reprimand him openly, but then he would be tried. Therefore I do not betray him, but I do not lose sight of him. I instruct him in secret, place before his eyes the judgment of God, *frighten his blood-stained conscience, and urge him to submit to the penitential discipline.*"

By far the clearest declaration on this subject is contained in the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo* 351 (c. 4, 9): "Bound by the bonds of such death-dealing sins, he is silent or puts it off or even hesitates to have recourse to the keys of the Church, by which he can be loosed

[13] *Hom. in Psalm.,* XXXVII, 2, 5 (De la Rue, II, p. 688).

[14] See above, p. 188.

[15] *Epist. Canonica,* 2, can. 34 (*P.G.,* XXXII, 727).

[16] *Sermon.,* 82, 8, 11.

upon earth in order to be loosed in heaven, and presumes, merely because he happens to be a Christian, to promise himself some sort of salvation after this life. . . . Let him rather judge himself in his innermost soul, now while he may, and change his life for the better, lest, when he can do no more, he be judged against his will by the Lord. And when he has pronounced against himself the judgment of the strictest remedy, which is still a remedy, *let him come to the bishops, who hold the keys in the Church,* and like a child, who has now begun to be good, let him *receive from the ministers of the sacrament the measure of his atonement,* in order that he may, in offering to God the sacrifice of his contrite heart, humbly carry out that which is not only his own cure, but also an example to others. *If, however, his sin has not only brought serious injury upon himself, but has also been the source of grave scandal to others, let him not refuse to do penance in the presence of many,* nay even of the whole people, and let him not, through false shame, aggravate his deadly wound by an abscess."

No doubt many *publicly* confessed and did penance for sins secretly committed, but there was no universal obligation to this effect. PACIAN, bishop of Barcelona, is the only one, so far as we know, who exacted *public penance* for secret sins.[17]

3. *The mildest form of public penance consisted in exclusion from the Eucharistic worship,* or at least *from Communion.* This always formed one of the es-

[17] *Paraenesis ad Paenitentiam,* c. 5, and especially c. 8 (*P.L.,* XIII, 1084, 1086). That there is question of capital sins committed *in secret* is clear from the fact that PACIAN warns against false shame, and assumes the possibility of deceiving the priest. He concludes: "Whosoever does not conceal his sins in the presence of the brethren, will be aided by the supplications of the Church, and absolved through the petitions of Christ."

sential elements of canonical penance.[18] As many of the faithful often voluntarily abstained for a time from the Lord's table, such exclusion did not damage the reputation of the delinquent. For the rest, *penance consisted of prayer, fasting, and various mortifications;* the penitent had further to implore the assistance of the priest, the poor and the widows; he was also forbidden to bathe. "Even with regard to dress and food," writes TERTULLIAN, "it commands [the penitent] to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to disfigure his body by neglecting ordinary cleanliness, . . . take none but unseasoned food and drink, not for the stomach's sake, of course, but in order to keep alive; frequently to strengthen prayer by fasting, to groan, to cry day and night unto the Lord, to bow before the feet of the presbyters, to embrace the knees of God's dear ones (*caris dei*); to recommend to all the brethren to assist our supplication [before God]."[19] The obligation of putting on different clothes and cutting the hair existed only in the Western Church,[20] where, from the fourth to the fifth century, penitents were also forbidden to engage in secular business and commanded to abstain from marital intercourse. Moreover, they were forever debarred from contracting a second marriage[21] and from receiving Holy Orders.[22]

In the Western Church, penitents do not seem to have been dismissed from the congregation before the

[18] Ps.-AUG., *Sermon.*, 351, 4, 7, and 352, 3, 8.

[19] *De Paen.*, c. 9. See also *De Pud.*, c. 13, and PACIAN, *Paraen.*, c. 10.

[20] Cfr. the *Synod of Agde*, in Gaul, held in 506 (can. 15).

[21] Pope SIRICIUS (d. 399) writes (*Ep.* 1 *ad Himerium*, c. 5): "*De his . . . qui acta paenitentia tamquam canes ac sues ad vomitus pristinos et volutabra redeuntes et militiae cingulum et ludicras voluptates et nova coniugia et inhibitos denuo appetivere concubitus*, etc." Cf. LEO I, *Ep.*, 167, inquis. 11–13 and can. 21 of the *Synod of Arles*, held in 452.

[22] Pope SIRICIUS, *l. c.*, XIV, 18.

beginning of the Eucharistic service proper, as was the universal custom in regard to catechumens. They were permitted to remain until the end of the divine service, but were denied holy Comuunion.[23] A special place, called by TERTULLIAN "the vestibule" and "the door," [24] and referred to by ST. JEROME as "*extra castra*" (*Ep.*, 77, 5), situated near the entrance of the Church,[25] was set apart for their use.

4. Often the duration of the public penance was for life. Since the Decian persecution, on account of the variety of cases, many communities divided the penitents into *four classes*.[26] ST. BASIL, who lived in the fourth century, is the first to make mention of the lowest of these classes (*lugentes*). Although the first œcumenical council based its penitential regulations on this classification, it was not widely adopted in the West during the early days. It is only in the ninth century that we see the Western Church agreeing in at least the main outlines of its penitential discipline with the Greek Church.

[23] HUGO KOCH has made this appear very probable. ("*Die Büsserentlassung in der alten abendländischen Kirche*," in the *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1900, 481–534; "*Der Büsserplatz im Abendlande*," in the same review, 1903, 254–270). This opinion assumes that grievous sinners, who had as yet not submitted to penance, were excluded from divine service. We have several examples of such exclusion in the Western Church, which would fit in with the opinion of KOCH only if there were question of sinners who had as yet not presented themselves for penance. An example of this is the incident of EMPEROR THEODOSIUS I. St. AMBROSE says (*Ep.*, 51, 13): "*Offerre non audeo sacrificium, si volueris adsistere*"; and PAULINUS relates (*Vita Ambrosii*, c. 24): "*Quod factum* [the massacre at Thessalonica] *ubi cognovit sacerdos, copiam ingrediendi ecclesiam denegavit nec prius dignum iudicavit coetu ecclesiae vel sacramentorum communione, quam publicam ageret paenitentiam.*" TERTULLIAN has a passage (*Ap.*, 39), which is not so easy to explain: "*Summum futuri judicii praejudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur.*"

[24] *De Paen.*, 7, "*in vestibulo*"; *De Pud.*, 1, "*limen.*"

[25] ADHÉMAR D'ALÈS, "*Limen ecclesiae*" in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclés.*, 1906, 16 ff.

[26] This practice was not universal; cf. FUNK, *Die Bussstationen im christl. Altertum*, in his *Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandl.*, I, 182 ff.; also HOLL, *Enthusiasmus*, p. 252 f.

The four groups of penitents in the ancient Church were the following: (a) The "*lugentes*" (προσκλαίοντες), who stood in the vestibule of the church and tearfully besought the intercession of those who entered. (b) The "*audientes*" (ἀκροώμενοι), who took their place behind the catechumens, and like them, assisted at that part of the mass known as *missa catechumenorum*. (c) The "*prosternentes*" (ὑποπίπτοντες), who, after the departure of the "*audientes*," cast themselves on the floor and asked the bishop to impose his hands on them. FUNK has endeavored to show [27] that these penitents were permitted, like the faithful, to remain during the whole of the divine service, although they had to lie on the ground and were not allowed to rise. His contention, to my mind, is not substantiated.[28] It is only in the third group that what is properly called the penitential discipline begins. Its members were compelled to perform those various works which were known to the ancients as the mortification of the flesh. A watch was kept over all the subjects in this third class, whilst the penitents belonging to the first and second classes were left to themselves. The solemn dismissal of this class of penitents, during divine service, is described by SOZOMENUS as follows:[29] "There is a public place for the penitents, where they stand full of sorrow and tears. When divine service is held, they who have no right to assist, fling themselves on the ground, amidst lamentation and weeping. Then from the opposite side the bishop approaches weeping and casts himself also on the floor, and the assembled multitude weeps. Thereupon the bishop arises first, and then raises those who lie on the ground; he recites the cus-

[27] *Die Bussstationen*, *l. c.*, 204 ff.

[28] My opinion on this point is shared by JÜLICHER, in the *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1898, 9.

[29] *Hist. Eccles.*, VII, 16.

tomary prayer for sinners and then dismisses them." (d) The "*stantes*" (συστάντες) took their place with the faithful and remained for the whole service, but were not allowed to participate in the offertory, nor to receive Communion.

5. *The duration of the penance could be shortened by the so-called "peace-letters" (libelli pacis) of the martyrs or confessors.*[30] We are indebted for our knowledge of these peace-letters to the Epistles of St. Cyprian and Tertullian's treatise *De Pudicitia* (c. 22). Tertullian later, when under the influence of Montanistic ideas, refused to concede this right to the martyrs. The custom of asking peace from the martyrs was prevalent before the end of the second century.[31] It was generally believed that their intercession with God was most efficacious, both because of the superabundance of their merits,[32] and because they were admitted into God's presence in heaven immediately after death; further, it was believed that as they carried within themselves the Holy Spirit, they had knowledge of the divine pardon accorded to sinners. In Cyprian's time, however, the martyrs no longer possessed the right of granting peace to sinners, or condoning their punishment; all they could do was to recommend them to the bishop's clemency.

[30] The terms "*martyr*" and "*confessor*" were often employed synonymously. But as a rule, the name *martyr* was applied to those who had died for Christ, or were condemned to work in the mines, or who suffered under torture, while that of *confessor* was applied to those who were merely imprisoned for the faith. Cyprian thinks (*Ep.*, 16, 3) that a peace-letter has no value except if written by one who really suffered death.

[31] Tertullian, *Ad Mart.*, 1: "*Quam pacem quidam in ecclesia non habentes a martyribus in carcere exorare consueverunt.*" Most probably we are to take in the same sense what the Church of Lyons wrote of its martyrs, in 177 (Eus., *H. E.*, V, 2, 5): "Ἕλνον ἅπαντας, ἐδέσμενον δ' οὐδένα.

[32] Euseb., *H. E.*, V, 2, 6: Ἐν οἷς ἐπλεόναζον αὐτοί, τοῦτο τοῖς ἐνδεεστέροις ἐπήρκουν. Tertullian combated this view (*De Pud.*, 22): "*Sufficiat martyri propria delicta purgasse; ingrati vel superbi est in alios quoque spargere, quod pro magno fuerit consecutus.*"

This it is easy to prove. When certain confessors had granted peace-letters to the lapsed, St. Cyprian, upon hearing this, demanded that the whole matter be held in abeyance until his return to the city, when, together with his fellow-bishops, he would, in the presence of the confessors, examine the letters and the wishes of those who had presented them.[33] A certain Lucian, who had written an insolent communication in the name of the confessors, granting peace to all the lapsed without exception, remarks in a letter that all he desired, after the Lord had granted peace to the Church, was that the bishop should examine the sins of the penitents and the penance they had performed, and then accord them absolution.[34] Cyprian himself concluded from *Mt.* 16, 19, that the bishops alone, because of the power of the keys conferred on St. Peter, have the right to decide in regard to the readmittance of sinners into the bosom of the Church.[35]

Was this also the practice in earlier times? Or was it originally in the power of the martyrs to grant peace to sinners without the intervention of the bishop? This latter opinion is generally accepted by *Protestant scholars,*[36] who contend that the edict of Pope Callistus introduced a change of discipline. Batiffol shares this opinion,[37] but most Catholic writers reject it.[38]

The testimonies usually adduced in favor of the view that in early times martyrs possessed the right to absolve a penitent from his penance are the following: (a) Tertullian (*De Pud., 22*) protests against the

[33] *Ep.*, 17, 3.

[34] Cyprian, *Ep.*, 22, 2; cf. *Ep.*, 27, 2.

[35] *Ep.*, 33, 1.

[36] Cfr. *e. g.* Preuschen, *Tertullians Schriften De Paenitentia und De Pudicitia mit Rücksicht auf die Bussdisziplin untersucht*, Giessen, 1890; Karl Müller, "*Die Bussinstitution in Karthago unter Cyprian*," in the *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1895, 26 ff.

[37] *Études d'Hist.*, I, 100.

[38] Cfr. Schanz, "*Die Absolutionsgewalt in der alten Kirche*," in the *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1897, 49 ff.

conduct of martyrs in the following words: "Some [sinners] betake themselves to the mines, and *return as full-fledged church members.* . . . Who gives man a right to condone [offences] which must be reserved to God?[39] . . . If Christ is in the martyr to the end that the martyr may *absolve* adulterers and fornicators, then let the martyr publicly reveal the secrets of the heart, and thus pardon sins, and he is Christ." (b) EUSEBIUS (*H.E.*, V. 2, 5) says of the martyrs of Lyons: "They reconciled all and accused no one; they loosed (ἔλυον ἅπαντας) *all and bound none.*" (c) In EUSEBIUS' Church History (V, 18, 7) a certain Apollonius depicts the immoral life of the Montanists, and alluding to one of their martyrs, Alexander by name, says, "*Who shall forgive the other his sins now?* Shall the prophet forgive the martyr his robberies, or shall the martyr absolve the prophet from his avarice?" (d) According to EUSEBIUS (*H.E.*, VI, 42), DIONYSIUS, bishop of Alexandria (d. 264), informs Fabius, bishop of Antioch, that certain martyrs, before their death, permitted those who had lapsed, and whose penances they had witnessed, to partake in their prayers and be present at their table;[40] he asks him: "What do you counsel, brethren, should be done in this case? Should we accept their decision, respecting both their judgment and their generosity, and deal kindly with those who have excited their pity; or shall we hold their judgment as unjust, institute a searching inquiry, and thus bring sorrow to their kind hearts?"

I must confess that these texts prove preciously little. The second, which is rather brief and quite general in tone, is based on a passage of sacred Scripture, which can be understood as having a rather wide

[39] "*Alii ad metalla confugiunt et inde communicatores revertuntur; . . . quis permittit homini donare, quae Deo reservanda sunt?*"

[40] . . . εἰσεδέξαντο καὶ συνήγαγον καὶ συνέστησαν καὶ προσευχῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑστιάσεων ἐκοινώνησαν.

meaning. The third merely expresses the Montanistic idea that martyrs and prophets have the power to forgive sins. The fourth text does not make the slightest reference to *peace-letters;* the martyrs have merely permitted the lapsed to have intercourse with them, and the bishop is inclined to favor their conduct, although he considers himself in no way obliged to do so. How then can KARL MÜLLER write:[41] "It is obvious that the Bishop of Alexandria had no right to be the first to be heard in this case, and that there was no higher court to pass judgment on the letters of the martyrs"? There remains the text of TERTULLIAN. Tertullian's meaning would seem to be that, at this particular juncture, it was customary throughout the Church for martyrs to forgive sins and to receive the lapsed back into the bosom of the Church. But this passage must not be too strongly insisted upon, for it *may refer to "peace-letters" which the bishop was not bound, but as a rule chose, to respect.* That the phrase *"to forgive sins"* can have this meaning, becomes clear from an instance recorded in one of the Epistles of CYPRIAN (*Ep.*, 21, 3), where Celerinus, a Roman Christian, beseeches the Carthaginian martyr Lucian and his fellow sufferers to *pardon* from the sin of apostasy (*tale peccatum remittant*) his sisters Numeria and Candida. LUCIAN answers that he has *already given peace* (*pacem dimisimus*) to others, and he consents to do it again in the present case, so that "these may have peace, when the Lord gives peace to His Church, *and their case has been put before the bishop and they have done penance.*"[42] In this case the sins were plainly not *pardoned* without the concurrence of the bishop. The same may be TERTULLIAN'S meaning in the text quoted. *It is, there-*

[41] *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XVI, 1895, 26 f.
[42] *Ep.*, 22, 2.

fore, safe to interpret the "peace-letters" of earlier times in the light of those of a later date, i. e., to assume that they never had the efficacy of a certificate of absolution in the strict sense of the word.

6. *Public penance could be performed but once.* HERMAS, writing about the year 150, attests this much. "There is but one repentance," he says,[43] "for the servants of God." Whoever relapsed into a capital sin was not permitted to become a penitent again, because the sincerity of his conversion was doubted. But this does not mean that he was looked upon as hopelessly lost. ST. AUGUSTINE, speaking of relapsed sinners, says: "Although the Church does not assign them a place where they can do humble penance, yet God in His longanimity does not forget them."[44] He adds that they are debarred from a second penance for fear that the remedy would be despised by becoming too cheap. This practice lasted until the end of the fourth century.[45] POPE SIRICIUS (d. 399) was the first to permit habitual sinners to assist at the whole of the divine service with the rest of the faithful, and to receive holy Communion at the time of death.[46]

Up to the middle of the fourth century, those who, having committed a capital sin, *waited until the hour of death before submitting themselves to penance, were refused absolution and the viaticum.* ST. CYPRIAN justified this[47] by saying that a dying person in seeking reconciliation from the Church is actuated more by the fear of death than by the spirit of penance, and consequently is not worthy to receive consolation in death, since he has put away the thought of death during life.[48] POPE INNOCENT I. (c. 400)

[43] *Comm.*, IV, 1, 8.

[44] *Ep.*, 153, 3, 7.

[45] CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Strom.*, II, 13 (*P.G.*, VIII, 995); TERT., *De Paen.*, c. 7; ORIGEN, *Hom. in Lev.*, 15, 2; AMBROSE, *De Paen.*, II, 10; AUG., l. c.

[46] *Ep. ad Himerium*, I, 5, 6 (*P.L.*, XIII, 1137).

[47] *Ep.*, 55, 23.

[48] Cf. CYPR., *Ep.*, 64, 1, and the

calls this the older and more severe practice, and declares that after the cessation of the Christian persecutions, Communion was no longer refused to the dying.[49] Pope Leo I.[50] ordered that all sinners should be absolved at the hour of death, even though unconscious, provided that at some time or other they had manifested a desire of being reconciled to the Church.

During the first three centuries, *clerics* were obliged to submit to public penance like the rest of the faithful. In the fourth century this practice was gradually discontinued. Pope Siricius even forbade them to submit to public penance,[51] though elsewhere it was permitted.[52]

The solemn reconciliation of penitents was effected by the imposition of hands by the bishop (*reconciliatio,* often also *communio*). It took place *after the completion of the penance,* in Rome as a rule on Maundy Thursday,[53] in Milan, Spain, and the Orient, on Good Friday.[54] If the penitent happened to be

22nd canon of the Council of Arles, A. D. 314. Schanz (*Die Lehre von den heiligen Sakram.,* 567) claims that Cyprian *refused absolution and pardon to penitents even at the hour of death* (*i. e.,* to those who had refused to do penance until the hour of death). He appeals to the treatise *Ad Demetr.,* c. 25, but here there is question rather of the reception of Baptism, which is still possible in the last hour.

[49] *Ep. ad Exsuperium Tolosanum,* c. 2, 6 (*P.L.,* XX, 489 f.). Innocent here says that in former times absolution but not Communion was given at the hour of death. Funk (*Kirchenlexikon,* II, 1563) takes this to mean that sacramental absolution, but not Communion was given. *But this is not true.* That, in early times, such sinners were refused sacramental absolution together with Communion at the hour of death, is clear from Cyprian, *Ep.,* 55, 23: "*Et idcirco, frater carissime, paenitentiam non agentes nec dolorem delictorum suorum toto corde et manifesta lamentationis suae professione testantes prohibendos omnino censuimus a spe communicationis et pacis, si in infirmitate atque in periculo coeperint deprecari, quia rogare illos non delicti paenitentia, sed mortis urgentis admonitio compellit, nec dignus est in morte accipere solatium, qui se non cogitavit esse moriturum.*"

[50] *Ep.,* 108.

[51] *Ep. I ad Himerium,* c. 14, 18.

[52] Cf. the *Synod of Orange,* held in 441 (can. 4).

[53] Innocent I., *Ep., 25 ad Decentium,* c. 7, 10.

[54] Ambrose, *Ep.,* 20, 26; *Council of Toledo,* A. D. 633 (can. 7);

stricken with a serious illness, he was granted pardon, even though his penance was not yet completed.[55] Upon his recovery, he must, according to canon 13 of the Nicene Council, take his place in the highest class of penitents until the expiration of his sentence. He might also participate in the prayers of the faithful, but was not permitted to receive holy Communion.

7. From what has been said it may be inferred that in the fourth century *the penitential discipline of the Church was gradually relaxed.* From the writings of St. Augustine we gather that it was rarely applied, and then only reluctantly and piecemeal. "In our time," he writes (*l.c.*), "public crimes have become so general that we dare not excommunicate a guilty layman, nor even degrade a cleric." In another passage, contained in the Pseudo-Augustinus,[56] we read: "Let no one think, brethren, that he may on this account disregard the remedy of wholesome penance, because he sees many going to the sacrament of the altar whose crimes of this nature he well knows. . . . For many good Christians are silent, and put up with the sins of others, of which they are well aware, because they have no evidence of that which is nevertheless well known to them, and cannot therefore prove it in the presence of the ecclesiastical judges. . . . We can turn no one back from Communion, unless he confess his fault, or is accused and convicted by a civil or spiritual tribunal." *The situation of the Church was completely changed after the time of the persecutions.* Except during the short reign of Julian, apostasy was rare, whilst sins against the sixth commandment increased rapidly. Procedure against every individual whom the bishop knew to

Funk, in Kraus, *Realenzyk.*, I, 182.

[55] Aug., *Enchir.*, 80, 21. [Cf. *Irish Theol. Quart.*, Jan. and April, 1911, art. "Historic Basis of the Jansenistic Heresy." Tr. N.]

[56] *Sermon.*, 351, 10.

be in mortal sin would have been like denouncing such to the civil authorities.[57] Many, and they were more numerous than those who delayed Baptism, put off penance until the hour of death, especially because public penance entailed so many social consequences.

8. *The abolition of the office of penitentiary at Constantinople* by the patriarch NECTARIUS (see above, p. 196) had the effect of suppressing not only this institution,[58] but also the different classes of penitents in the East.[59] *Did the whole system of public penance in the Orient disappear together with it?* I maintained in my *Jahrbücher*[60] that it did, and LOOFS has adopted my opinion.[61] His view is that the end of the fourth century saw the system of public penance in the Oriental Church *almost entirely extinct,* it being limited to flagrant cases only. Against this, HOLL tried to show[62] that public penance continued in the Byzantine Empire down to the time of its dissolution, that during all that time grievous sinners were excommunicated and their excommunication made public; the only mitigation, which was gradually introduced, being that confession was made secret and (in the eleventh century) penance was limited to deprivation of the holy mysteries. HOLL lays particular emphasis on the fact that the old canons per-

[57] LOOFS, *Leitfaden,* 339.

[58] SOZOMENUS, *H.E.,* VII, 16.

[59] Simultaneously with FUNK (*Kirchengesch. Abhandl.,* I, 1897, 200–204) I affirmed this in 1897 in my *Jahrbücher d. christl. Kirche,* 538. In the following year, HOLL (*Enthusiasmus,* p. 238 ff.) denied it, especially because the acts of the general council of 869 mention these categories of penitents; but FUNK had already drawn attention to the fact that this council was strongly influenced by the Western Church, and that, at this time, the "stations" were just being introduced there. Nevertheless, FUNK was willing (*Quartalschr.* 1899, 458) to concede the existence of "stations" for a longer period in a portion of the Oriental Church. I agree with LOOFS (*Leitfaden,* 341) that this concession is unnecessary; the "stations" are no longer mentioned as an existing institution after the year 400.

[60] *Jahrbücher d. christl. Kirche,* 538.

[61] *Leitfaden,* 340 f.

[62] *Enthusiasmus,* 275 ff.

taining to penance were embodied in the collections of Justinian's time, and retained their force for a considerable time thereafter; and that the *Council in Trullo* in 692 (can. 2) acknowledged the old penitential letters as still in force. *The truth of the matter lies in the middle.* I based my former assertion, that the system of public penance ceased in the Oriental Church at the time of NECTARIUS, on the accounts given by SOCRATES and SOZOMENUS.[63] The latter, who wrote about the year 430, relates it as something entirely unknown to the Eastern Church, that in Rome the penitents prostrated themselves before the bishop, received a penance from him, and then awaited absolution, which was given to those who had completed their sentence. SOCRATES says that, since the abolition of the office of penitentiary priest, every one was free to exercise his own judgment in regard to partaking of the holy mysteries. I concluded from these reports that the suppression of the penitentiary involved the cessation of the entire system of public penance. *Yet they can be interpreted in another sense,—namely, that in ordinary cases, because of the suppression of the office of penitentiary, penance was voluntary,* there being no tribunal at hand to which information regarding capital sins could be carried, and that in the case of sins gravely notorious and scandalous, and then only, were the old canons applied. *This last interpretation appears to me now to be the right one.* There is a passage in the writings of THEODORET OF CYRUS,[64] which shows that at his time the system of public penance was still in force, but in the very simple form embodied in the *Apostolic Constitutions,* namely, as exclusion from divine worship, or at least from the Eucharistic sacrifice.

[63] Soc., *H.E.*, V, 19; Soz., *H.E.*, VII, 16.

[64] *Ep. 77 ad Eulalium* (*P.G.*, LXXXIII, 1249d).

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, who wrote about the year 500, is familiar with the custom of dismissing catechumens, persons possessed by the devil, and public penitents before the beginning of the Eucharistic service.[65] He also knows of others who are worse than the possessed, and who ought, therefore, to be dismissed before them. They are those persons who resemble the evil spirits in thought and action, giving themselves over entirely to deceitful pleasures and hastening on to perdition.[66] The author evidently has in mind grievous sinners who remain unrepentant, and yet dare to take part in the whole of the divine worship.[67] *After the time of Pseudo-Dionysius* we hear no more of public penance, and the allegations of Holl [68] to the contrary are very questionable.[69] Penance was still recommended, and the old canons were refurbished, but public penance was no longer practiced except by a few who undertook it voluntarily.

9. *In the Western Church the ancient public discipline of penance remained in practice for a longer period.* We see from the writings of SS. Augustine and Leo I. that many of the faithful voluntarily submitted to public penance and reconciliation to the Church.[70] It became customary to carve on tombstones that one had completed many years of public penance.[71] Leo I. tells us that those who have been guilty of one of the three capital sins can receive Communion only after performing public penance.[72] In course of time penance in the Western Church took on

[65] *Eccles. Hierarchia,* III, 2 and III, 7 (*P.G.,* III, 436c, 452c).

[66] *P.G.,* III, 433d.

[67] Cf. Hugo Koch, "*Zur Geschichte der Bussdisziplin und Bussgewalt in der orient. Kirche,*" in the *Histor. Jahrbuch,* 1900, 58 ff.

[68] *Enthusiasmus,* 282 f.

[69] Cf. Koch, *l. c.,* pp. 67–71, where he discusses the incident of the Confessor Maximus and a younger theologian Symeon (about A. D. 1100).

[70] Aug., *Sermon.,* 232, 7, 8; Leo I., *Ep.,* 168, 2.

[71] *C. I. Lat.,* V, no. 5420, 7415. Le Blant, no. 622, 663, 697.

[72] *Ep.,* 167, inquis. 19.

more and more the character of a *punishment*. The Church in France even appealed to the secular arm against those who refused to do penance. At the beginning of the Middle Ages, so-called "penitential books" (*libri pœnitentiales*) appeared, first in Ireland and England, later also in France and Germany. In these books the nature and duration of the penances for various kinds of sins were set down. The number of sins mentioned in these books was very large. Even such slight faults as inattention in church and shaving on Sunday received a penalty. Often fasting was imposed for several Lents, *penance* at that time *being limited to the period of Lent*. It was also possible to do penance repeatedly in the course of a lifetime.

Public penance was once more revived in France in the ninth century. The penitential books were often contradictory and lacked ecclesiastical sanction. Hence it was that later councils [73] regulated penances according to the old canons and Holy Scripture. Thus the Eastern penitential "stations," though in a somewhat altered form, were adopted by the Western Church in the ninth century.[74] Even clerics and monks were not exempt from public penance.[75] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, it became the custom for the clergy to perform their penance in the monasteries. In the twelfth century all trace of the ancient discipline was lost.

§ 11. Auricular Confession

1. *The Council of Trent* has decreed that *sacramental* confession is necessary to salvation by divine command, and that *private* confession to a priest, such as has prevailed in the Church *from the begin-*

[73] For instance, the Synod of Châlons, A. D. 813 (can. 38).

[74] Hinschius, *Das Kirchenrecht der Katholiken und Protestanten in Deutschland*, V, 1893, 89 ff.

[75] *Ib.*, 100 f.

ning, was instituted and ordained by Christ, and is not a human invention.[1]

The history of auricular confession forms one of the most obscure chapters in the history of dogma. It is especially difficult to form a clear idea of its character and the extent of its practice in Christian antiquity, because of the almost countless false notions which have accumulated on this point. *Catholic theologians* — SCHANZ and POHLE not excepted — have gathered together a mass of evidence which for the most part is of very doubtful value and must be subjected to careful scrutiny. They take as testimonies to auricular confession many texts which refer to public confession or to public penance, or to merely interior confession, *i. e.,* an outpouring of the heart to God alone. The difficulty is increased by the fact that the Greek word ἐξομολογεῖσθαι has a twofold meaning, "to confess" and "to do penance,"[2] just as the Latin word "*confiteri*" may signify both confession before men and an outpouring of the heart to God. This is a point to which too little attention has been paid, and the result is that in the treatment of the history of confession there is much confusion. According to ST. CHRYSOSTOM and the *De Pœnitentia* of ST. AMBROSE, *confession is often taken in the sense of self-accusation before God.* Therefore POHLE is mistaken when he writes:[3] "The justifying efficacy of a contrite confession is exalted by ST. AMBROSE (*De Pœn.,* II, 6, 40): 'If thou desirest justification, confess thy sin; an humble confession will loose

[1] Sess. 14, can. 6: "*Si quis negaverit, confessionem sacramentalem vel institutam vel ad salutem necessariam esse iure divino, aut dixerit modum secrete confitendi soli sacerdoti, quem ecclesia catholica ab initio semper observavit et observat, alienum esse ab institutione et mandato Christi et inventum esse humanum, anathema sit.*"

[2] Cf. HERMAS, Vis. I, 1, 3 and III, 1, 5.

[3] *Lehrb. der Dogmatik,* III, 3rd ed., 496.

the bonds of thy sins.' " As a matter of fact, this passage has reference to the *inner* acknowledgment of sins committed, for just a little before this we read: " Glory not in the fact that thou art innocent, lest by justifying thyself thou mayest be charged with more."

All Protestant theologians, as far as I know, agree in denying the existence of, or at least the obligation of having recourse to, auricular confession during the first three centuries. STEITZ even goes further and contends that in the early ages of the Church priests did not give absolution, but merely " announced," in the Lutheran sense, that the divine forgiveness had been granted. He also seeks to prove that the whole ancient system of penance was merely disciplinary and not sacramental in character. In this contention he has been followed by LEA, while KARL MÜLLER[4] declares that " this opinion of STEITZ' is diametrically opposed to historical facts." HOLL understands the confession demanded by the Catholic Church to be periodic, as " a regular and obligatory confession of all, even the most secret thoughts," and makes ST. BASIL the founder of auricular confession in the Catholic sense.[5] He also distinguishes between the yearly confession commanded by the Church and confessions made from a sense of devotion. LÖNING, with many others, says: " The entire later penitential discipline and auricular confession in the Catholic Church had its origin in the diffusion of the conventual discipline among the laity."[6] The *" Old Catholics" of Switzerland* hold a common confession service before the reception of communion, believing that by this they obtain pardon of their sins. Their bishop, HERZOG,[7]

[4] *Theol. Literaturzeitung,* 1897, 464 ff.

[5] *Enthusiasmus,* 257 and 267.

[6] *Gesch. des deutschen Kirchenrechts,* II, 1878, 472 f.

[7] *Die obligatorische römische Ohrenbeichte eine menschliche Erfindung,* 1901.

endeavored to prove that auricular confession, though desirable and salutary, was not prescribed by Christ.

2. *The historical development of the Catholic institution of auricular confession has of late years been the object of much research.*[8] *The most important publications are the following:*

(a) *Protestant.*

LEA, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church,* 3 vols., 1896. The first two volumes treat of confession, the third of indulgences. In 1888, LEA published his celebrated *History of the Inquisition* in three volumes, a German translation of which is just out. He shows himself to be a man of wide learning, and has gathered together a large amount of material bearing on confession and indulgences, a portion of which is foreign to the subject. He tries to be calm and impartial, but *knows very little of Christian antiquity,* and this is a serious defect. LEA almost entirely ignores the classical work of MORINUS and confines himself to the treatment of the history of confession in the Middle Ages and in modern times. He purposely refrains from quoting Protestant authors, but shows little familiarity with Catholic institutions and makes many mistakes and blunders. He finds difficulties where none exist, and exaggerates others. He holds that the obligation of confessing one's sins was first set up as a divine institution by HUGH OF ST. VICTOR and PETER LOMBARD. He even minimizes the moral

[8] Among earlier works on this subject the great and well known book of the Oratorian MORINUS deserves first mention, *Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina in Administratione Sacramenti Paenitentiae* (1651). To this may be added two bitterly anti-Catholic treatises of STEITZ (*Das römische Busssakrament,* 1854 and "*Die Bussdisziplin der morgenländischen Kirche in den ersten Jahrhunderten,*" in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie,* 1863, 91–184). FRANK, *Die Bussdisziplin der Kirche von den Apostelzeiten bis zum 7. Jahrhundert* (1867) is uncritical and of no further use at the present stage of research.

effects of confession, and appeals to the statistics of illegitimate children and suicides in Catholic countries.

An excellent refutation of Lea's work was written by BOUDINHON, *Sur l'Histoire de la Pénitence à propos d'un Ouvrage Récent.*[9] He distinguishes *three periods* in the history of public penance: first, the early age, in which public penance predominated; second, the beginning of the Middle Ages, when the works of penance set down in the "penitential books" prevailed; and, third, the last years of the Middle Ages, when works of penance gradually disappeared and were supplanted by auricular confession.

HOLL, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* (1898). The author has blazed new paths in tracing the history of absolution and the penitential discipline of the Greek Church during the Middle Ages. His views cannot be maintained in every particular, but they are well worthy of careful consideration.[10]

The penitential system of the ancient Church is treated with great objectivity and moderation in LOOFS' *Leitfaden der Dogmengeschichte* (4th ed., 1906, 205–208; 339–345).

(b) *Catholic.*

P. A. KIRSCH, *Zur Geschichte der katholischen Beichte* (1902). This book is a polemic directed against the Old Catholic Bishop Herzog. It does not treat of confession in all its phases and is not reliable in every detail.

[9] *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, 1897, 306 ff. and 496 ff.

[10] A refutation of HOLL's book was attempted by ERMONI (*La Pénitence dans l'Histoire à propos d'un Ouvrage Récent*, in the *Revue des Questions Hist.*, 1900, 5–55), but it is very superficial. ERMONI considers the work done on this side of the Rhine as deficient "*de clarté et de méthode, du moins pour l'esprit français*"; since he himself, in order to refute HOLL, is obliged to adopt his line of thought, he admits that his own production is not a "*modèle de concision*" and is wanting in the "*qualités auxquelles nous sommes habitués.*" Would that his treatise had no other faults!

BATIFFOL, *Études d'Histoire et de Théologie Positive,* I (1902, now in its fifth ed.), treats of the whole penitential system of the early Church under the title, *Les Origines de la Pénitence,* pp. 43–222. Like all the writings of BATIFFOL, this work also needs careful revision.

GARTMEIER, *Die Beichtpflicht historisch-dogmatisch dargestellt* (1905). The title does not say that the subject is treated only for the first seven centuries; nor are the researches historico-dogmatic, as the author asserts, but purely dogmatic. Besides, GARTMEIER attributes comparatively late dogmatic concepts, such as *quasi-materia* and *ex opere operato,* to the first seven centuries.[11] His work was severely criticised by P. A. KIRSCH, and with justice, for it teems with contradictions.[12] The chief fault of the author consists in this, that he interprets his sources arbitrarily in order to make them serve his purpose. Two examples will illustrate GARTMEIER'S method.

The DIDACHE says (c. 4): "In the church thou shalt acknowledge thy transgressions, and thou shalt not come near for thy prayer with an evil conscience." And in another place (c. 14): "Every Lord's day do ye gather together, break bread, and give thanks, after having confessed your transgressions." Clearly, general (in contradistinction to private) confession is here meant. GARTMEIER, however, with PALMIERI, who is his principal guide, holds that it is "very probable" that the DIDACHE here refers to sacramental and private confession. Were he right in his contention, confession would have been more frequent in the early Church than it is at the present time, a supposition indefensible from every point of view. And now for

[11] On p. 142 passages are quoted from the *Sermones* of St. Augustine, which do not belong to him at all.

[12] *Theologische Revue,* 1907, 183 ff.

the *second example.* IRENÆUS relates [13] that certain women were seduced by disciples of MARCUS, a Valentinian living near Lyons. Some of these women openly acknowledged their sin, while others, ashamed to do this, in despair quietly left the Church; a third class openly apostatized. "Others," says IRENÆUS, "hesitate, and are, as the proverb has it, 'neither without nor within.'" The meaning of the passage is sufficiently clear, but how does GARTMEIER interpret it? "This incident," he says, "evidently means that the *women received absolution after confessing privately,* and were therefore 'within,' but refusing afterwards to make open confession before the congregation, again found themselves 'without' the Church." [14]

3. *Was public confession as a rule preceded by a private confession, together with sacramental absolution?* It is quite certain that some sort of an avowal of guilt did precede it. *But that this avowal was immediately followed by absolution, given by a priest,* and that the reconciliation taking place after the performance of the enjoined penance possessed a merely disciplinary character, or at best signified nothing else than the re-admission of the sinner to membership in the Church and participation in the Eucharist, is a *wholly untenable opinion.* FRANK,[15] who evinced a decided preference for this view, was forced to confess: "We are well aware that but few scholars share

[13] *Adv. Haer.,* I, 13, 7.

[14] POHLE (*Lehrb.,* III, 3rd ed., 498) finds in this narrative of IRENÆUS "the first indication of a distinction between public and private confession," especially in the words *αἱ μὲν καὶ εἰς φανερὸν ἐξομολογοῦνται.* But the words do not necessarily mean that. The confession which is not public may be a secret revelation *made to God alone,* a practice upon which the ancients placed the greatest value. Then again *ἐξομολογοῦνται* may very well mean that they did penance. Again, POHLE is wrong when he says the converted women confessed not only external sins of impurity, but also their impure desires. For the teaching of IRENÆUS in regard to penance, see HUGO KOCH in the *Zeitschrift für neutest. Wissenschaft,* 1908, 35–46.

[15] *Die Bussdisziplin,* 811 ff.

our opinion and that a veritable army of the ablest critics and scholars, both ancient and modern, oppose it and maintain the contrary view." Among those who disagree with him is MORINUS. Nevertheless FRANK satisfied himself, according to his own statement, that in the Oriental as well as in the Western Church sacramental absolution always preceded the imposition of public penance, and he thinks his arguments will dispel his reader's last doubt of the truth of his opinion. *Many Catholic writers have followed him, e. g.,* GARTMEIER [16] and the two Jesuits BLÖTZER [17] and STUFLER.[18] But the thesis is false; there is no clear-cut distinction between the *forum internum* and the *forum externum* in the early Church. The reasons for my assertion are:

(a) *Negative Proofs.*

(α) *The sources* of antiquity are *silent* concerning

[16] He asks the question (*Die Beichtpflicht,* 71) at what precise juncture during the period of public penance was absolution given? and answers, that PALMIERI is right when he says, "the real absolution, which blotted out sin, followed immediately upon the confession of the culprit, and accompanied the imposition of the penance."

[17] *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.,* 1887, 484 f., and especially 493–495. BLÖTZER says on page 494: "As above, so here also the fact is pointed out that the confession is not followed by a punishment, but by justification; this gives us a second and a third *essential distinction* between this *forum* (*penitentiale*) and the *forum judiciale.*"

[18] In the *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.,* 1907, 227, STUFLER says that one is forced to draw from the principles of ORIGEN in regard to penance the inevitable conclusion that the relapsed sinner received absolution, but was not permitted to attend divine services. Lately (*ib.* 1909, 245 f.) STUFLER has claimed that, at least at the time of ST. CYPRIAN, sacramental absolution was given *after* the completion of the penance, and immediately before the reconciliation, and hence the two were not co-incident. But there is no proof for this. On the contrary, Pope LEO I. expressly says that the reconciliation itself effects pardon with God. The passage reads: "*Iesus hanc praepositis ecclesiae tradidit potestatem, ut et confitentibus actionem paenitentiae darent et eosdem salubri satisfactione purgatos ad communionem sacramentorum per ianuam reconciliationis admitterent. Cui utique operi incessabiliter ipse salvator intervenit nec unquam ab his abest, quae ministris suis exsequenda commisit . . . ut, si quid per servitutem nostram bono ordine et gratulando impletur effectu, non ambigamus per spiritum sanctum fuisse donatum.*"

a regular sacramental absolution preceding the completion of the imposed penance. FRANK has not furnished any affirmative testimony on this point; and as the sources relative to the penitential discipline in Christian antiquity are so rich, this failure renders his claim doubtful, to say the least.

(β) As I have remarked before (p. 208), ST. CYPRIAN demanded that all who sought penance at the hour of death should be refused both absolution and Communion. The Council of Arles decreed the very same in the year 314 (can. 22). What purpose could this refusal have had if such sinners were accorded sacramental absolution?

(γ) The *Montanists* absolutely refused ecclesiastical pardon to persons guilty of capital sin, as is evidenced by TERTULLIAN'S *De Pud.*, where capital sins are represented as unpardonable, and no recourse is left to those who are guilty of them but a direct appeal to the mercy of God.[19] TERTULLIAN, in this treatise, reproaches Catholics for conceding ecclesiastical reconciliation after such sinners, but never for granting them sacramental absolution.

(b) *Positive Proofs.*

(α) *The edict of* POPE CALLISTUS *reads:* "I remit the sins of adultery and of fornication to such as *have discharged* [the requirements of] *penance* (*delicta penitentia functis dimitto*)." He not only grants them ecclesiastical reconciliation, but forgiveness of sins, *provided they have discharged the requirements of penance.*

(β) HERMAS writes: "If any one is tempted by the devil and sins after that great and holy calling in

[19] ESSER (*Katholik*, 1897, II, 188) writes: "TERTULLIAN and the Montanists saw no 'juridic creation of the Church' nor 'a voluntary renunciation of this power by the Church,' in the reservation of grievous sins, but they directly denied this power, claiming that *God had reserved these sins to Himself* and never gave the Church power to absolve them."

which the Lord has called His people, he has one penance; but if he sins again and repents, his repentance *will be of no avail;* for with difficulty will he live." [20]

(γ) "The peace of the Church [reconciliation]," says St. Augustine, "remits sins and staying away from the peace of the Church retains sins." [21]

(δ) *Generally speaking, the ancients bear witness clearly and repeatedly to the fact that reconciliation to the Church, after the fulfilment of penance, effects peace with God, i. e.,* the forgiveness of sins, and therefore possesses a sacramental character. Accordingly the forgiveness of sins, as understood at that time, differed from the simple admission to the ranks of the penitents and was given only afterwards. To prove this I will cite two texts out of a number that could be easily adduced. St. Cyprian clearly states that *reconciliation (pax) produces peace with God,*[22] and again, that peace should be granted to the faithful who are at the point of death, because the divine mercy does not permit the hope of salvation to be denied to those who are truly penitent." [23] Pope Leo I. writes: "The great mercy of God comes to the assistance of human frailty in this way, that not only through the grace of baptism, but also *through the wholesome remedy of penance, the hope of eternal life is restored, so that they* who have profaned the gifts of regeneration, in that they have damned themselves by their own judgment, *may obtain the forgiveness of their sins."* [24] Leo then develops the idea that reconciliation administered by the priest after the performance of penance, is sufficient to effect forgiveness in the sight of God.

[20] *Mand.*, IV, 3, 6.

[21] *De Bapt.*, III, 18, 23: *"Pax ecclesiae dimittit peccata et ab ecclesiae pace alienatio tenet peccata."*

[22] *Ep.*, 55, 13: *"pignus vitae in data pace percipiunt"; Ep.*, 57, 4: *"accepta pace spiritus patris recipitur."*

[23] *Ep.*, 57, 1.

[24] *Ep.*, 108, 2.

The whole matter is so clear that there can be no room for doubt. FRANK's and BLÖTZER's counter-arguments are without value. FRANK [25] says, the imposition of hands, whereby sinners were admitted to public penance, must have been identical with absolution, and cites the fact that a sick person could receive absolution before the expiration of his sentence of penance. BLÖTZER quotes passages from ST. AUGUSTINE,[26] in which confession is supposed to obtain forgiveness. But when closely examined, it is seen that in these passages there is question of the baring of the heart to God alone, that is, of inner confession.

4. *Confession to a priest for the purpose of receiving penance and absolution, existed in the Church from the very beginning.* Like public penance, however, it was exacted only from those who had been guilty of mortal sin, as understood in Christian antiquity, *i. e.,* capital sin. As has been shown above (p. 189), *the definition of what constituted such a sin was by no means fixed.* If the term is limited to three sins, these must be considered as species or categories. ST. BASIL and ST. AUGUSTINE increased the number, either from the Decalogue or from *Gal.* 5, 19–21.

If any one had *publicly committed one of these sins,* he had to make a public confession, which, quite naturally, was preceded by a declaration before the ecclesiastical authority, *i. e.,* the bishop, or the penitentiary priest, or a penitentiary tribunal. If *the sin was secret,* private confession together with private penance was generally deemed sufficient. ORIGEN *gives complete details in regard to the mode of procedure.* He recommends sinners to confess their sins,[27] for in this wise sickly humors are released and

[25] *Die Bussdisziplin,* 822.
[26] *Apud* A. MAI, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca,* I, 1852, p. 386, 387.
[27] *Hom. in Ps.,* 37, 2, 5.

indigestible food vomited forth. "But observe carefully," he continues, "to whom you confess your sins; put the physician to the test, in order to know whether he is weak with the weak, and a mourner with those that mourn. Should he consider your disease to be of such a nature that it must be made known to, and cured in the presence of, the assembled congregation, follow the advice of the experienced physician." *The "physician" here means principally, or solely, the priest.* This is clear from other passages. Thus: "The just do penance for their sins, are sensible of their wounds, recognize their errors, *seek the priest,* ask to be healed and request to be cleansed by the bishop." [28]

Even in the case of purely interior *capital sins, that is, those committed in thought or desire only, confession and penance were recommended as very salutary, nay even necessary.* This is evidenced by St. Cyprian, who in a celebrated passage writes: [29] 'How much greater faith and better fruit do those show who, though innocent of the sin of idolatrous sacrifice or of accepting a certificate of sacrifice, yet since they have thought of such things, confess this to God's priests, thus opening their conscience, shake off the load which weighs down their minds and seek salutary medicine for their wounds, even though these be but slight and moderate? . . . I entreat you, beloved brethren, *each to confess his own sin,* while he who has sinned is still alive and his confession may still be received and his penance and the absolution of the priests are still pleasing to the Lord." The Spanish bishop Pacian (about 380) held confession to be necessary also in such cases. He says [30] that any one who commits a

[28] *Hom. in Num.*, 10, 1.

[29] *De Lapsis*, 28 f. He is treating here of the sin of apostasy, a fact which has not been sufficiently noted.

[30] *Paraenesis*, 5 (*P.L.*, XIII, 1084).

capital sin (*e. g.*, murder), even if only in thought, will not see the face of God unless he perform the penance prescribed by the Church; he adds that no one should delude himself in this regard.

5. *With the beginning of the fourth century private confession took on greater importance and spread more widely.* Even from the time of the Decian persecution, the system of public penance that prevailed in the cities of the East, where there were penitentiary priests, acquired *a more private character.* SOZOMENUS[31] expressly says that confession to the penitentiary priest supplanted public confession. The very confession which led to the abolition of the office of penitentiary priest in Constantinople, in the year 391, had somewhat of the character of a *private* confession.[32] During the fourth century, both in the East and in the West, when no public scandal had been given, the penitential procedure was semi-public and frequently entirely private. In both cases confession was privately made to the bishop, or to a priest, a penance was imposed, and the confessor saw to it that the penance was carried out. The absolution or reconciliation which followed the discharge of the penance was granted either publicly or privately. In the former case the procedure was *semi-public,*[33] in the latter, private. That both kinds of absolution were in vogue is evidenced by the 30th canon of the *Council of Hippo,* A. D. 393: "Priests cannot absolve [*i. e.*, reconcile] any penitent without the consent of the bishop, except when the bishop is absent and in case of necessity. *If the sin has been publicly confessed, the penitent should receive the imposition of hands before the apsis.*"

In the fifth century, private penance together with private confession was still further developed. The

[31] *H.E.*, VII, 16, 2.
[32] Cf. my *Jahrbücher*, p. 539.
[33] This is the terminology of LOOFS, *Leitfaden*, 343.

assertion of BATIFFOL [34] that in ancient times there existed only public penance together with public absolution is false. LEO I. *declares that private confession is sufficient and that public confession must not be exacted;* he limits public penance to the three capital sins and says that those who took an inconspicuous part in pagan orgies or in eating the flesh offered to idols, can gain admittance to the holy mysteries by fasting and the imposition of hands, that is, by a private confession and absolution.[35] Because of this declaration, LEA asserts that Leo I. introduced private, side by side with public, penance. But this is false.

In Christian antiquity, the practice of confession, as a part of public penance, was as follows: From the very beginning confession was demanded in the case of all capital sins, taking the latter term both in its narrow and in its wider sense. In the first three centuries, confession was public in the case of sins committed publicly, while for sins committed in secret a private confession was deemed sufficient, although sometimes a public avowal was voluntarily made. *From the year 300 on public confession became more and more infrequent.* Private penance together with private absolution was, from the beginning, granted for capital sins committed in secret, and after the year 300 it was also applied to such sins as involved a certain amount of publicity but no grievous scandal. In the fourth century, *private confession* accompanied by private absolution was introduced for those sins that were either committed in secret or were capital sins only in a wider sense.

6. *So far there has been question only of the con-*

[34] *Études d'Hist.*, I, 3rd ed., 200.

[35] *Ep.*, 168, 2. See also, *Ep.*, 167, inquis., 19: "*Si convivio solo gentilium et escis immolaticiis usi sunt, possunt ieiuniis et manus impositione purgari . . . Si autem aut idola adoraverunt aut homicidiis vel fornicationibus contaminati sunt, ad communionem eos nisi per paenitentiam publicam non oportet admitti.*"

fession of capital sins. But even the sins that were not capital *could* be submitted to the power of the keys, *i. e.,* remitted by confession, penance, and absolution. That this really did take place is certain from one of the epistles of POPE INNOCENT I.[36] When these sins were of a certain gravity, the penitent was strongly urged to confess them. Thus ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA[37] says that whoever secretly appropriates another's property and confesses this sin to a priest, may obtain forgiveness by this act of zeal.

But there was no need to submit these sins to the power of the keys, in other words, there was no obligation to confess them. This must be considered a well established fact. I am not ready to go as far as FUNK, who says[38] that there was no absolution connected with sins of this kind. They *could* be pardoned, though only on the acceptance of a penance, which during the first three centuries was, as a general thing, public. That *there was no obligation of confessing these sins* we now proceed to prove.

(a) *Proofs.*

PACIAN, writing about 380, says:[39] "These three sins [*i. e.,* the capital sins] should be avoided as the breath of a basilisk, or a cup full of poison, or the scourge of death; *all others are remitted by the performance of good works* (*meliorum operum compen-*

[36] *Ep.,* 25, 7, 10: "*De paenitentibus autem, qui sive ex gravioribus commissis sive ex levioribus paenitentiam gerunt, si nulla interveniat aegritudo, quinta feria ante pascha eis remittendum Romanae ecclesiae consuetudo demonstrat.*" VACANDARD (*Revue du Clergé Français,* 1909, 397) concludes from this: "*qu'il faut ranger encore parmi les péchés pénitentiels quelques-uns de ceux, que certains pères considéraient comme 'leviora.'*" But this is saying too much, for there is question here only of voluntary penitents. When TERTULLIAN says (*De Pud.,* 18): "*levioribus delictis veniam ab episcopo consequi poterit,*" the "*leviora peccata*" are either grievous sins, which were not reckoned among the three *peccata irremissibilia* of the Montanists, or these same three sins in an incomplete form.

[37] *Ep. Canon. ad Letoium* (*P.G.,* XLV, 233).

[38] KRAUS, *Realenzyk.,* I, 181.

[39] *Paraenesis,* c. 4.

satione)." St. Gregory of Nyssa [40] is surprised that the Fathers failed to mention avarice, despite the fact that the Apostle calls it idolatry and the root of all evil, and says that no one questions those brought before the clergy, whether perchance they are tainted by this sort of idolatry. "Since, however, the Fathers have passed over these sins entirely," he adds, "*we deem it sufficient to cure them, as far as we are able, by the public preaching of the word of God,* cleansing the diseases due to avarice after the manner of certain disturbances due to a superabundance of blood, *by the word.*"

St. Augustine *is very explicit* on this subject. In *Ep.*, 265, 7–8, he declares that there are three kinds of penance. The first precedes Baptism, the second is performed after Baptism by the *penitents properly so called* (*proprie pœnitentes*), that is, by those who have committed sins that entailed excommunication and made it necessary to be reconciled. The third is *the daily* (*quotidiana*) *penance* of fasting, almsgiving, and prayer. This we perform especially when we strike our breasts and say: Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. In another place St. Augustine expresses himself in similar language: [41] "Thus sins are forgiven in the Church in a threefold manner: in Baptism, in prayer, and in the greater humiliation of penance (*in baptismo, in oratione, in humilitate majore pœnitentiae*)." Again he remarks [42] that, although the conception of what constitutes mortal sin has varied, yet all agree *that the sins which are not included in this category can be easily repaired by almsgiving.* In his treatise *De Symbolo*, 7, 15, he is most explicit on this point. "Those whom you see performing public penance, have com-

[40] *Ep. Canonica ad Letoium*, can. 6.

[41] *De Symb.*, 8, 6.

[42] *De Opere et Eleemos.*, 19, 34.

mitted sins like adultery or other heinous deeds (*facta immania*), and for these they do penance. For if their sins were light (*nam si levia peccata ipsorum essent*), the daily prayer would be adequate to render satisfaction." He has in mind the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer. *There can be no doubt, therefore, that* ST. AUGUSTINE *calls light and daily sins* all those that do not require public penance, and he is certain that they can be blotted out by the performance of good works, especially by the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer. *He knows of no obligation to confess these sins,* and does not even insinuate the possibility of their being remitted by confession. The late lamented P. ODILO ROTTMANNER, O.S.B.,[43] a most competent authority on ST. AUGUSTINE and his writings, is of the same opinion. "As far as I know," he writes, "there is absolutely nothing in the authentic writings of ST. AUGUSTINE which would make *the confession of 'lesser mortal sins' a matter of obligation.*"[44]

JOHN CASSIAN (c. 425) *is no less positive than St. Augustine.* He calls capital sins those which merit eternal death, such as murder, fornication, adultery, drunkenness, dishonesty, and robbery. The other sins, he says, can *"be blotted out by the daily grace of Christ, i. e., remitted by the easily obtained pardon which our Lord continually accords in answer to our prayers."*[45] In another passage, he twice enumerates the means of receiving pardon for these lighter sins.[46] They are: contrition, love, almsgiving, tears, *confession of sins,* humility accompanied by a firm purpose of

[43] Died Sept. 11, 1907.

[44] *Histor. Jahrbuch,* 1898, 895.

[45] *Conlationes,* XXIII, 13, 2: *"Quisquis enim post baptismum et scientiam dei in illud mortis corpus inruerit, sciat se non cotidiana gratia Christi, id est facili remissione, quam momentis singulis exoratus dominus noster erroribus nostris donare consuevit, sed aut diuturna adflictione paenitudinis ac poenali dolore purgandum aut certe pro his in futurum aeterni ignis suppliciis addicendum."*

[46] *Ib.,* XX, 8.

amendment, the intercession of the saints, works of mercy, the conversion of others, and the forgiveness of injuries. In regard to the confession of sins as a means of pardon, he explains himself more clearly thus: "But if you are ashamed to confess your sins before men, then confess them to Him, from whom they cannot remain concealed, amidst continual supplication without ceasing . . . He can remit your sins without exposing you to any shame, and pardon you without disgrace." [47]

(b) *Objections.*

(α) "It is a wonderful mystery," writes ORIGEN,[48] "that He commands us (*Lev.* 5, 5) to confess our sins. In every way, whatever we do must be made known and revealed. If we do anything in secret, if we commit sin in speech, or even only in thought, all this must be made known. . . . If one tells his sins, he merits forgiveness for them." One's first impression upon reading these words is that ORIGEN is here speaking of a command. But he goes so far in his demand, and it is so little in accord with the general practice of Christian antiquity, that we must conclude that he merely wished to give an urgent advice. Then, too, his words are so general that no definite conclusion can be drawn from them; he does not even intimate that confession should be made to *a priest.*

(β) TERTULLIAN, in his treatise *De Pudicitia,* which he wrote as a Montanist, distinguishes three classes of sins, namely, those that are unpardonable (the three capital sins), the daily sins (*modica*) and, midway between these two categories, the lighter sins (*leviora*).

[47] *Ibid.*, XX, 8, 8: "*Quodsi verecundia retrahente revelare ea coram hominibus erubescis, illi quem latere non possunt confiteri ea iugi supplicatione non desinas ac dicere ei: 'Iniquitatem meam ego agnosco et peccatum meum contra me est semper; tibi soli peccavi et malum coram te feci,' qui et absque ullius verecundiae publicatione curare et sine improperio peccata donare consuevit.*"

[48] *Hom. in Lev.*, 3, 4.

For the latter, he says,[49] *absolution may be obtained from the bishop;* they are, without doubt, those very sins which he previously mentioned as incurring excommunication.[50] But it can also be seen from the passage in question, which sins he has in mind. They are the smaller sins of idolatry, such as participation in gladiatorial contests and pagan feasts, the holding of public offices or ambiguous utterances in regard to the faith. These are sins that approach very near to capital sins, but which the Montanists did not consider unpardonable. TERTULLIAN, therefore, cannot be quoted as inculcating an obligation to confess any but capital sins.

(γ) Even ST. AUGUSTINE speaks of a class of sins intermediate between mortal and so-called daily sins.[51] Of this class he writes: "If there were not some sins not to be punished by the humble penance which the Church imposes upon certain sinners, but with certain remedies of correction, the Lord would not have said, 'Correct him alone between thyself and him'" (*Mt.* 18, 15). Must we perhaps understand this passage to mean that there was a private confession for an intermediate class of sins that occupied a position between capital and ordinary venial sins? I cannot believe this, since ST. AUGUSTINE in many other passages (cited above, p. 229) says nothing of such an intermediate category of sins, nay positively excludes it. His meaning can only be this: some sins are remitted by public penance, others by good works, *and still others, which violate Christian charity, by fraternal correction.*

(δ) *Catholic scholars have appealed to* ST. CHRYSOSTOM, *in order to prove that in his time, both in Antioch and in Constantinople, private confession to a priest*

[49] C. 18.
[50] C. 7.
[51] *De Fide et Operibus*, 26, 48.

was universally prevalent and was obligatory in the case of all "mortal sins" in the sense that we understand this term to-day.[52] *But this appeal is in vain.* I have demonstrated this at some length in my *Jahrbücher* (1897, p. 540–544) and my arguments have met with approval.[53] I will therefore treat the matter briefly here.

St. Chrysostom frequently speaks of the confession of sins, but he means either public confession in the presence of others, *or the outpouring of the heart in the presence of God alone.* This latter he insists on again and again, and points out its necessity and advantages. It might be argued that in the confession made before God he also includes the confession made to a priest acting as the representative of God. But he never even insinuates this; nay, in several passages he positively excludes this interpretation. "Therefore," he writes,[54] "I exhort and beg you again and again: Confess to God without ceasing! I do not lead you into the circle of your fellow servants, and do not force you to reveal your sins to men. Unfold your conscience to God alone, show Him your wounds and ask help from Him. Show yourself to Him who will not reproach you, but who will heal you. Even though you be silent, He knows all." The following words also deserve attention: "How shall we receive pardon, if our sins are never brought to mind? Were this the case, everything would be done. For just as he who enters within the gate is within, so he who ponders over his sins and meditates separately upon each

[52] Thus Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, V, 2, 437 ff.; Wildt, in the *Kirchenlexikon*, II, 230 f.; Schwane, *Dogmengesch.*, II, 2nd ed., 1057; Pohle, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*, III, 3rd ed., 1908, 496. Pohle's chapter, "*Der Väterbeweis für die Beichte*," is not up to the usual standard of his otherwise excellent *Lehrbuch*.

[53] Funk, *Lehrb. d. Kirchengeschichte*, 1907, p. 177; Holl, *Enthusiasmus*, 272; Kirsch, *Zur Geschichte d. kath. Beichte*, 76.

[54] *Hom. Contra Anomoeos*, 5 (Montf., I, 490c d).

one, attains a cure for them all. But if he says, 'I am a sinner,' and does not weigh his sins and say, 'I have done this or that,' he will never cease sinning, because, while he always confesses them, he takes no measures for his betterment." DR. POHLE is struck by the circumstance that CHRYSOSTOM calls the shamed sinner's attention to the fact that he is confessing to God alone, although he claims that this Father of the Church does this in order to bring out the benefits of the seal of confession. But CHRYSOSTOM says nothing of the *sigillum,* which did not exist in the early days in the strict sense now attached to the term (below p. 250). There is no passage in the writings of CHRYSOSTOM that justifies one in calling him an unmistakable *witness for the existence of private confession.* It is true, he says in a certain place, "So do thou also show the wounds to the priest" (τῷ ἱερεῖ).[55] SCHWANE attaches great importance to this passage. But if it be taken in its context, it will be readily seen that it has reference to fraternal correction. The meaning is: Show the priest the faults of others, so that he may correct them. The idea of a self-accusation on the sinner's own part is excluded by the context.[56] How far the penitential discipline of ST. CHRYSOSTOM's time differed from our own, may be gleaned from the circumstance that CHRYSOSTOM in his six books *De Sacerdotio,* in which he dilates on the dignity of the priesthood, mentions seventeen duties of the priest, but never once the hearing of confessions.[57]

If SOCRATES[58] and SOZOMENUS[59] say that NECTARIUS, patriarch of Constantinople, by suppressing the office of penitentiary priest, "*gave every one liberty to approach the holy mysteries in accordance with the*

[55] *Hom. De Statuis,* 3.

[56] The reading τῷ ἱερεῖ appears to me to be doubtful, for it does not fit in with the context.

[57] Cf. *Theol. Quartalschr.,* 1829, 94.

[58] *H.E.,* V, 19.

[59] *H.E.,* VII, 16.

dictates of his conscience," the meaning can only be that after the abolition of the office of penitentiary the holy mysteries could be approached, at certain times at least, without confession.

7. *It cannot be denied that the present practice of penance and confession differs in many particulars from that of early Christian times. The main points of difference are the following:*

(a) As to-day, so in ancient times, the obligation of confession applied only to mortal sins, *but not all the sins that we regard as mortal were then so understood.* As I remarked above (p. 189), the definition of mortal sin was not everywhere the same. Sins, such as failure to keep a fast-day, or missing mass now and then on Sunday, and in particular many sins of thought which we look upon as mortal, were hardly considered so in ancient days. At all events there was no obligation to confess these sins. In general *the obligation to confess* was binding in the case of such sins only as were subject to public penance, and since these for the most part were sins of deed, the confession of sins of thought was relatively much rarer than it is to-day. "The distinction between *peccata venialia* and *mortalia,"* says SCHANZ,[60] "had not yet been exactly determined." CASSIAN in a passage of his *Conlationes* (XXIII, 6, 4) observes that a distraction during prayer is no slight sin, but a very grievous crime (*gravissimum crimen*).

(b) *Except in cases of necessity, absolution (or reconciliation) in olden times was not given immediately after confession, but only after the requirements of penance had been discharged, and these were heavier and lasted much longer than the penance imposed at present.* Absolution was made to depend, not only on

[60] *Die Lehre v. d. hl. Sakr.*, 575.

the confession of sins, but also on the zeal subsequently shown in doing penance. Pope Innocent I. expressly states that this must be so.[61] The transition took place little by little.[62] In the *Statuta Bonifatii* (c. 31) we read: "Every priest shall see to it that all penitents be reconciled through his prayer immediately after making their confession."[63] *In earlier times, the imposition of penance was occasionally described as the sole purpose of confession;*[64] *but later on* confession became more and more the important thing and the works of penance were relegated to the background. The words of Alcuin (*Ep.*, 15, 4; 217) clearly point to this: "The Lord waits for our confession in order to give us the precious gift of pardon. . . . Therefore does He desire to receive from sinners the gift of confession, in order that He may not find anything to punish. . . . You shall be able to obtain the full benefit of the cure if you do not conceal from the physician the wounds of your conscience." During the late Carlovingian period we find that even in *case of the most grievous sins*, which called for a protracted *public penance*, the culprit was deprived of the Eucharist only for a certain period of his sentence, *i. e.*, reconciliation was granted before the expiration of the sentence.[65] In ancient times there was a strong sentiment against reconciling sinners who

[61] *Ep.*, 25, 7, 10: "*Ceterum de pondere aestimando delictorum sacerdotis est iudicare, ut attendat ad confessionem paenitentis et ad fletus atque lacrimas corrigentis, ac tum iubere dimitti, cum viderit congruam satisfactionem suam.*" Tertullian (*De Pud.*, c. 2) speaks of "*venia ex castigatione.*"

[62] Loofs, *Leitfaden*, 484–490.

[63] In Hardouin, III, 1944 and Mansi, XII, 386: "*Curet unusquisque presbyter statim post acceptam confessionem paenitentium singulos data oratione reconciliari.*"

[64] Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii*, c. 39: . . . "*quotienscumque illi aliquis ob percipiendam paenitentiam lapsus suos confessus esset.*" Pope Leo I. (*Ep.*, 168, 2) calls those who go to confession, "*qui paenitentiam poscunt.*"

[65] For examples see Hinschius, *System des katholischen Kirchenrechts*, V, 107.

deferred their conversion to the hour of death (above, p. 208). CÆSARIUS OF ARLES (sixth century) thought little of a conversion effected just before death.[66] But the Emperor CHARLEMAGNE demanded, in conformity with the prevailing custom, that the dying be granted pardon, even if they had previously refused to do penance.[67] This custom no doubt contributed much to introduce the practice of granting absolution immediately after confession.

(c) *Periodic confession,* as decreed for all Christians without exception by the Fourth Lateran Council, and *regular confession* before the reception of Communion, as it is largely practiced to-day among the laity, was unknown in Christian antiquity. There was, as early as the fourth century, a custom existing in cloisters of making regular confession to the superior as a means of attaining to greater spiritual perfection. *The decree of the Fourth Lateran Council, however, contained nothing new for the 13th century,* for the custom of going regularly to confession at the beginning of Lent and before the reception of Communion was then firmly rooted. Then, too, provincial synods had ordered that confession was to be made once or three times a year. "The wish and desire of the Church that confession should be made at regular intervals, was a matter well known to all; it had become customary to go to confession at certain fixed intervals."[68] The decree of the Fourth Lateran

[66] PSEUDO-AUGUSTINUS, *Sermon.,* 393 (*P.L.,* XXXIX, 1714 and LXVII, 1082c): "*Si quis positus in ultima necessitate aegritudinis suae voluerit accipere paenitentiam et accipit et mox reconciliatur et hinc vadit, fateor vobis, non illi negamus quod petit, sed non praesumimus, quia hinc bene exit; non praesumo, vos non fallo, non praesumo!*" This utterance is inspired by the ancient belief that the imposition of a proper penance was the *immediate* purpose of confession.

[67] *Capit.,* 19, 10 of the year 769 (in the *Mon. Germ.: Capit. regum Franc.,* I, 45).

[68] So CASPARI in Hauck's *Realenzyk.,* art. "*Beichte.*" KIRSCH (*Zur Gesch. d. kath. Beichte,* 173–183), gives a good survey of the proofs drawn from writers and

Council (A. D. 1215) is as follows: "All the faithful of both sexes (*omnis utriusque sexus fidelis*), after arriving at the age of reason, shall faithfully confess all their sins in secret (*solus*) to a proper priest (*proprio sacerdoti*), at least once a year, perform, as far as they are able, the penance imposed upon them, and reverently receive the sacrament of the Eucharist at least during Easter time." [69] The term "*proper priest*" means one's pastor. "Should any one for good reasons desire to confess to a stranger," the decree continues, "let him ask and receive permission from his own priest; otherwise, no other [priest] can either loose or bind him." [70]

8. *The view generally adopted by Protestant scholars* is that the *system of confession that prevailed in the Middle Ages,* especially confession prescribed at stated intervals, and the avowal of even the lesser sins of thought, *is due to the extension of the monastic discipline to the laity.* "That the actual confession of all sins to the priest," writes HARNACK, "and the imposing of all sorts of satisfaction for the hundred and one offences of every-day life, in a word, private confession

synods after the year 800. A *synod held at Gran,* in 1114, commanded (HEFELE, *Konz.,* V, 289): "All lay persons must confess and communicate on Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, clerics must go to confession and Communion on the principal feast days." Somewhat later ALANUS OF LILLE (about 1200) wrote in his treatise, *De Arte Praedicatoria* (*P.L.,* CCX, 179): "There is a duty incumbent upon all lay people of confessing three times in the year, namely, at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. . . . But to-day the practice has crept in that lay persons and clerics scarcely confess once a year, and when they do, they do it more as a matter of custom than from any contrition of heart." As regards the history of the obligation of confession once a year, see A. VILLIEN, *Histoire des Commandements de l'Église,* 2nd ed., Paris, 1909, 146 ff.

[69] MANSI, XXII, 1007 f.

[70] Does the *decree of the Lateran Council* apply only to those who have *committed grievous sin* during the course of the year? KIRSCH seems to assume that it does. HINSCHIUS says that opinions are divided. He himself maintains that the decree is not restricted in its application to venial sins. SCHANZ follows him (*Die Lehre von den hl. Sakramenten,* p. 576 ff.), as does also HUGO KOCH (*Theol. Revue,* 1903, 613).

to the priest, became the rule, is only to be explained by the gradual insinuation into the Church at large of the monkish discipline. The thing began in the Iro-Scottish Church, which was eminently a monastic Church."[71] *In order that we may form a correct judgment in the matter, we must keep in view the practice of confession in the old-time monasteries.*

St. Basil recommended for his monasteries a nightly examination of conscience, and a manifestation of all faults committed to the assembled community, in order that they might be corrected by prayer offered in common.[72] But in other passages he says, one should not confess to every one, but "to those to whom God has entrusted the dispensation of His mysteries,"[73] or to the superior, or "to those who enjoy the confidence of the brethren."[74] When a sister confesses to a "presbyter"[75] it is advisable for the abbess to be present.[76] The monastic rule of St. Basil also ordained that every breach of discipline be revealed to the superior, either by the one at fault, or by those who happen to know of the delinquency, inasmuch as the culprits cannot cure themselves.[77] *From all of which it appears that frequent confession in these monasteries was merely a means of discipline.* The monk was advised to reveal his heart

[71] *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesh.* Steitz, *Das römische Busssakrament,* 112 ff.; Löning, *Gesch. d. deut. Kirchenrechts,* II, 1878, 472 ff. and Holl, *Enthusiasmus,* 267, are of the same opinion; Loofs to some extent also (*Leitfaden,* 479). Holl who erroneously identifies obligatory confession with periodic confession, makes St. Basil the founder of the Catholic institution of confession. Likewise Kliefoth, *Liturg. Abh.,* II, 102.

[72] *Sermon.,* 1, fin. (*P.G.,* XXXI, 881b; *Regula Brevis,* interrog. 227).

[73] *Reg. Brev.,* 288: Ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.

[74] *Reg. Fusior,* 26: ἀπογυμνοῦν τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

[75] This does not necessarily mean a priest, for we know from the writings of Cassian (*e. g., Inst.,* IV, 9, 1), that the head of a monastery was called *senior.*

[76] *Reg. Brev.,* 110.

[77] *Reg. Fus.,* 46.

and his innermost thoughts every night to the brethren and to acknowledge all his faults to the superior, or to others worthy of trust. It is not easy to determine who are meant by the phrase "those to whom God has entrusted the dispensation of His mysteries," whether "priests" or "others worthy of trust." The latter interpretation appears to me as the more probable. It is likewise doubtful whether or not these cloister confessions, or at least some of them, involved sacramental reconciliation.

CASSIAN recommends confession even for the most secret sinful thoughts.[78] The rule of ST. BENEDICT designates it as an act of humiliation if a monk makes no effort to conceal all his evil thoughts and secret faults. The rule of CHRODEGANG in its original form (c. 14) exacted two confessions before the bishop every year for each canon regular; the first at the beginning of Lent, and the other sometime between the middle of August and the first of November. According to the enlarged form of the rule (c. 32) each was compelled to confess his sins on the three great feasts.

In Ireland and England, where public penance accompanied by public reconciliation had never existed,[79] and the monasteries enjoyed a remarkable prestige, this monastic practice soon found its way into lay circles. Our knowledge of the penitential discipline prevailing in those countries is gathered from the *penitential books* (above p. 213)[80] by which the monks were instructed as to the proper works of penance to be imposed for different kinds of sins. The

[78] *Conl.*, II, 11, 6 f.; *Inst.*, IV, 9, 1: *"Ad quod ut facile valeant pervenire, consequenter instituuntur, nullas penitus cogitationes prurientes in corde perniciosa confusione celare, sed confestim ut exortae fuerint, eant suo patefacere seniori."*

[79] *Paenitentiale Theodori*, I, 13, 4.

[80] WASSERSCHLEBEN, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (1851). HERM. JOS. SCHMITZ, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisziplin der Kirche*, 2 vols., 1883 and 1898.

oldest of these books comes from Ireland and is named after a certain VINNIAUS (c. 570). The most widely influential of them all was the penitential book of THEODORUS, a Greek monk, who died in 690, as archbishop of Canterbury. From Ireland the penitential books were introduced into France by ST. COLUMBA (d. 615), he himself, as it appears, having composed one. MSGR. SCHMITZ, auxiliary bishop of Cologne, endeavored to show that the Roman Church possessed a penitential book of its own.[81] But this is very doubtful.

There can be no doubt that the monks of Ireland and England, with their penitential books, exercised a vast influence on the penitential system of the Frankish churches. The chief peculiarity of these books was that, unlike the old discipline of public penance, they took into consideration the ordinary sins of everyday life, especially evil thoughts and desires. Their use tended to make men's consciences more delicate, and confession more frequent.[82] *Dogmatically, the distinction between grievous and light sins remained undetermined,* and hence confession and ecclesiastical absolution were demanded only for a relatively small number of sins. But theory followed practice.[83] The immediate consequence was that the list of grievous sins became larger and consequently obligatory confession more frequent. Further, there arose among the laity the practice of going to confession as a mere matter of devotion, especially before communion.[84]

[81] *Die Bussbücher,* II, 138 ff.

[82] In regard to the influence of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon penitential books, see HAUCK, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands,* I, 2nd ed., 262–268; LÖNING, *Geschichte d. deutschen Kirchenrechts,* II, 469 ff.; SCHANZ, *Die Lehre von den hl. Sakr.,* 373–375.

[83] SCHANZ, *op. cit.,* 574.

[84] *Theodori Liber de Mensura Paenitentiarum* (*Paenit. Theodori*), c. 42, in WASSERSCHLEBEN, *op. cit.,* 360: "*Confessiones autem dari diligentius praecipitur, maxime de commotionibus animi, antequam ad missam eatur. . . . Sicuti a peccatis capitalibus cavendum est, antequam*

But the new practice was not established entirely *without opposition.* ALCUIN [85] tells us that in the province of Gothia, the lay people refused to confess to a priest, their bold pretension being that they were obliged to confess only to God. As late as A. D. 813, we find in the canons of the Council of Châlons (can. 33) this statement: "There are some who say that one need confess his sins to no one but God alone."

But the influence of the monastic discipline of Ireland and England upon the penitential discipline of the Western Church *must not be exaggerated,* as is usually done by Protestants. *Confession, as it existed in the Middle Ages, and as it exists to-day, in its essential elements dates back to the beginnings of Christianity.* In the same measure in which public penance became narrowed down in the early Middle Ages, and gradually disappeared, *private penance, accompanied by private confession, became more important and widely practiced.* This was the case particularly in the fourth and fifth centuries, during which, as we are informed by ST. AUGUSTINE and ST. LEO I., private confession was sedulously fostered (above, p. 222). It had, as even LOOFS [86] is forced to admit, "at least in several countries, thrown a bridge between the old ecclesiastical discipline and the new system with its confession and penance." ORIGEN and ST. CYPRIAN had already strongly recommended the confession of secret sins to the priest. A regular confession of even the most secret sins of thought was very early (we mention only ST. BASIL and CASSIAN) recommended as a means of perfection. *The main difference between confession then and now* has been best described

communicandum sit, ita etiam ab incertioribus vitiis et morbis languentis animi."

[85] *Ep.,* 277 (ed. Jaffé): "... *neminem ex laicis suam velle confessionem sacerdotibus dare, quos a deo Christo cum sanctis apostolis solvendi ligandique accepisse potestatem credimus."*

[86] *Leitfaden,* 481.

by KARL MÜLLER,[87] who says that confession "in primitive times merely indicated the beginning of penance, but was later followed immediately by absolution, and that in the beginning the sins confessed were something *altogether* [?] different from those of later times." Dogmatic theology in course of time examined the relation of the various elements of the sacrament of penance more carefully and determined the concept and extent of grievous sin. "Yet there never existed a doubt," says Schanz, "that even in those days [in Christian antiquity] the Church possessed a tribunal of penance, and that penance, next to Baptism, was the sacrament of the shipwrecked." [88]

9. *Up to the twelfth century, the formula of absolution in use throughout the universal Church was deprecatory, i. e., had the character of a prayer.* By and by, the indicative or declarative formula (*ego te absolvo*) began to be used in the Western Church and was either used alone or in conjunction with the traditional prayer, until about the year 1250, when the deprecatory form fell entirely into disuse.[89] ST. THOMAS AQUINAS declared all formulas clothed in the form of a petition to be null and void.[90] The Council of Trent (Sess. 14, c. 3) defined that the words, "*Ego te absolvo a peccatis tuis, in nomine Patris, etc.*" constitute the *forma* of the sacrament. With the exception of the Armenians, only the Greek Church to-day employs the deprecatory form.

But what meaning did the deprecatory formula of the ancients have? Was it merely a prayer for forgiveness, or did it effect pardon? Catholic schol-

[87] *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1897, 465.

[88] Schanz, *op. cit.*, 575.

[89] This has been proved by MORINUS and LEA. POHLE admits it (*Lehrbuch*, III, 430 f.). LEO I. says that the priest is the penitent's *intercessor*, and that the mercy of God is obtained only by the supplication of the priest.

[90] *Opusc.*, 18 (*al.* 22), *De forma absolutionis.* Cf. *Summa Theol.*, III, q. 84, art. 3.

ars maintain that the absolution given by a priest in the early days was endowed with the sacramental character. Protestants are divided on this question. KARL MÜLLER[91] espouses the Catholic view, HARNACK[92] denies it. The latter says: "It was not settled that the priest alone could forgive sins, nor were the value and result of priestly forgiveness fixed." LOOFS[93] thinks it was the common opinion among early Christians that the sins of a penitent were "remitted" by the priest, but that some attributed to him merely the rôle of intercessor or physician. *Still, as far as I can see, the matter is perfectly clear.* Formally, the priest merely appeared to intercede for the penitent, *but in reality every one was persuaded that God invariably heard his prayer and that in case of mortal sin the mediation of the Church was indispensable. Penitential works* on the part of sinners were considered of greater importance than to-day, and it was believed that forgiveness was the joint result of the priestly intercession and the fulfilment of the conditions of penance on the part of the sinner. POPE LEO I.[94] says this explicitly.

It is not difficult to show that the ancients attributed a sacramental character to reconciliation as effected through the mediation of the priest. In his celebrated edict POPE CALLISTUS I. declares: "I remit, to such as have discharged [the requirements of] penance, the sins of both adultery and fornication (*ego . . . peccata dimitto*)." That he made this declaration in virtue of the power of the keys, granted to the Church by Christ, is clearly apparent from the testimony of TERTULLIAN.[95] PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE earnestly exhorts those guilty of mortal sin to have recourse to

[91] *Theol. Abh., Weizsäcker gewidmet*, 1892, 292.
[92] *History of Dogma*, V, 326.
[93] *Leitfaden*, 487 f.
[94] *Ep.*, 108, 2.
[95] *De Pud.*, c. 21.

the power of the keys, and says that unless they do so, they cannot hope for eternal salvation.[96] St. Leo I. is still clearer on this point. In his *Ep.*, 108, 2, he writes: "The divine mercy comes to the help of sinful man by restoring the hope of eternal life, *not only through the grace of Baptism, but also through the medicine of penance,* in order that they who have lost the gifts of regeneration, thereby damning themselves by their own judgment, *may receive pardon for their transgressions.* Divine mercy has so ordained things, *that the pardon of God cannot be obtained except by the supplications of the priests* (*ut indulgentia Dei nisi supplicationibus sacerdotum nequeat obtineri*)." The Lord has granted the rulers of the Church power to reconcile those who confess and do penance. "In this work," Leo continues, "the Redeemer Himself constantly coöperates and lends His assistance in the performance of that which He has commanded His servants to do, for He says, 'I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world.' *If, therefore, anything is done through our services* in the proper order and with the desired consequences, *it is undoubtedly a gift of the Holy Ghost.*" Alcuin calls the priest "*reconciliationis adjutor,*" but in the same Epistle (112) he also says that the priest himself dispenses pardon and that "he looses in virtue of the power granted to the Church (*ex ecclesiastica auctoritate solvere*)."

Loofs[97] maintains that it used to be held *that the priest,* in giving absolution, merely declares that the sinner is reconciled to God, but that he does not effect reconciliation. This is not correct. If the priests

[96] *Sermon.*, 351, 9: "*Implicatus igitur tam mortiferorum vinculis peccatorum detrectat aut differt aut dubitat confugere ad ipsas claves ecclesiae, quibus solvatur in terra, ut sit solutus in caelo, et audet sibi post hanc vitam, quia tantum christianus dicitur, salutem aliquam polliceri.*"

[97] *Leitfaden*, 487.

have the power of binding and loosing — as the ancients often said — then they certainly remit sins and do not merely declare them to be remitted. PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE plainly concedes that the power of the keys is wielded by the clergy.[98] How, then, can STEITZ say that this author is ignorant of a pardon granted in God's name in virtue of a judicial power delegated to the clergy? If the priests have received the Holy Ghost, in order that they may be able to remit or retain sins, then we can say with ST. AUGUSTINE[99] that it is not they who forgive sin, but the Holy Ghost through them. Still their judicial declaration possesses the character of a real forgiveness. ST. GREGORY THE GREAT remarks that the bishops are clothed with the power of binding and loosing, and are, therefore, endowed with *judicial* prerogatives; hence, when a sinner performs the necessary penance, a judicial utterance absolves him.[100] *It is true that in the Middle Ages, for a time at least, the idea prevailed that God alone* can "bind" and "loose," and that the Church merely "declares" or "proclaims" the divine sentence. HUGH OF ST. VICTOR ascribes this opinion to "certain writers."[101] It is unmistakably taught by ST. ANSELM OF CANTERBURY,[102] ABELARD,[103] GRATIAN

[98] *Sermon.*, 351, 9.

[99] *Sermon.*, 99, 8–9: Commenting on the words of St. Luke (7, 49): "Who is this man that forgiveth sins also?" he says: "Certain heretics say: *Ego absolvo, ego mundo, ego sanctifico;* but to these Christ replies, During my life on earth I ascribed forgiveness of sins to faith ('Thy faith hath made thee whole')." "Let them not rejoin," continues St. Augustine, 'Whatever you shall loose on earth,' etc. These words are rather to be understood thus: 'The Lord desired to give men the Holy Ghost and willed that the sins of those believing in Him should be forgiven by the Holy Ghost Himself and not through the merits of men.'"

[100] *Hom. in Evang.*, 26.

[101] *De Sacr.*, II, 8 (*P.L.*, CLXXVI, 564c and 565a).

[102] *Homiliae et Exhort.*, n. 13 (*P.L.*, CLVIII, 662b). ANSELM here expounds the words, "as they went in they were made pure" (Lk. 17, 14) and says: "'*Dum irent mundati sunt,' quia, ex quo tendentes ad confessionem et paenitentiam tota deliberatione mentis peccata sua damnant et deserunt,*

[103] *Ethics*, c. 19 (*P.L.*, CLXXVIII, 663c–665d, 668bc).

(in his *Decretum*),[104] and PETER THE LOMBARD.[105] MORINUS[106] says that this view *prevailed generally among the Schoolmen about the year* 1200. But these testimonies throw no light on the view current in the early days. GRATIAN (*op. cit.*) explicitly opposes his own opinion to that of Christian antiquity and the early Middle Ages. RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR dealt a fatal blow to Gratian's contention in his work *De Potestate Ligandi et Solvendi,* where he refers to it as *" tam frivola, ut ridenda potius videatur quam refelleda."*

10. In conclusion we must say a few words on the subject of the *confessor.*

Whilst the administration of the public penitential discipline in ancient times was always regarded as one of the chief duties of the bishop, the *priests* are, from the very beginning, referred to as those to whom private confession should be made. Of course, the bishop was naturally considered one of their number. At an early date in the Greek Church, the faithful began to repair for confession to the monks, many of whom were not vested with the sacredotal character. This custom became more widespread when, from the year 400 onward, the official Greek Church almost ceased to concern itself with penance and confession, and its priests, in many instances, inspired little confidence because of their loose manner of living. *The result was that for centuries, up to the year* 1250, *the power of binding and loosing in the Greek Church was almost exclusively exercised by the monks.* This surprising fact was first discovered by KARL HOLL, whose book,

liberantur ab eis in conspectu divini inspectoris. . . . Perveniendum tamen est ad sacerdotes et ab eis quaerenda solutio, ut, qui iam coram deo sunt mundati, sacerdotum iudicio etiam hominibus ostendantur mundi."

[104] *De Paen.,* c. 34–37.

[105] *Liber Sent.,* IV, dist. 18, 5–6 (*P.L.,* CXCII, 466). Cf. on this whole question K. MÜLLER, *Theol. Abh.,* 300 ff.

[106] *Comm. Hist.,* l. 8, c. 8, 2 (ed. Antwerp, 1682, p. 529).

Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt im griechischen Mönchtum, shows conclusively that from the end of the iconoclastic controversy (about 800) until the middle of the 13th century, the monks were in *sole* possession of the power of binding and loosing, even in regard to capital sins. Critics have accepted this conclusion. The only disputed point hinges on the word *"sole," which is undoubtedly incorrect.*[107] I can only mention very briefly the stages in this evolution.

TERTULLIAN, as a Montanist, ascribed the power of forgiving sins solely to the *"ecclesia spiritus."*[108] ORIGEN says that he who forgives sins must have received the Holy Ghost, like the Apostles, and that "his conduct must prove him to be a man who is guided by the Holy Ghost, after the example of the Son of God, to do all that is to be done with reason," in other words, he must be a "spiritual man" (πνευματικὸς ἀνήρ).[109] In another passage the same writer says:[110] "Whosoever lies in the bondage of his own sin, binds and looses in vain." The same view was taken by PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.[111] He argues that priests who lead godless lives have lost the sacredotal power, because, as they themselves remain in darkness, they cannot enlighten others, nor forgive sins. Such Donatistic principles as these no doubt contributed to enhance the prestige of the monks.

The Greek monasteries of the fourth and fifth centuries were noted for their strict discipline. In the time of the Monophysite controversy, which for a hundred years shook the Eastern half of the Roman Empire, the majority of bishops, as later on in the iconoclastic dispute, showed themselves to be weak

[107] MEYER, in the *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1898, 866, and FUNK, in the *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1899, 458. FUNK, instead of *sole* says, "frequently and by and by prevailingly."

[108] *De Pud.*, c. 21.

[109] *De Oratione*, c. 28 (de la Rue, I, 255).

[110] *Hom. in Matt.*, 12, 14.

[111] *Ep.*, 8, 2 (*P.G.*, III, 1092a-c).

and subservient courtiers, whereas the monks staunchly defended the principles of the Church, oftentimes by force. The consequence was that they came to be highly esteemed by the people. It soon became customary, especially in distress of conscience, to go to them, and they enjoyed great confidence because it was believed that, having the Holy Ghost, they possessed the power to cleanse from sin.[112] The eighth epistle of the PSEUDO-AREOPAGITE gives us a good idea what pretensions the monks made at that time.[113] Briefly stated, the letter is as follows: A sinner with all the marks of contrition, casts himself at the feet of a priest. The monk DEMOPHILUS pushes him aside, and when the priest takes up his defence, casts both out of the Church. PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS reproaches the monk for such conduct and declares that the power of the priests is much higher than that of the therapeutes (*i. e.*, monks). "How can this be," the monk replies, "if the priests of God live evilly? How can they who are unenlightened themselves, give light to those in darkness?"

After the iconoclastic controversy, the monks assumed little by little the upper hand in all that related to penance, and this position was left uncontested by the official Greek Church. NICEPHORUS THE CONFESSOR, patriarch of Constantinople (c. 820), says (can. 16) that in the absence of the priest, a monk, even though he be not a priest, can impose works of penance. LEQUIEN has reprinted among the works of ST. JOHN DAMASCENE[114] a treatise entitled *Epistula de Confessione,* which, as HOLL[115] has shown, is the work of Symeon, "the new theologian," who lived

[112] For examples cfr. Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXII, 1297d, 1477d.

[113] See KOCH, *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1900, 71 ff.

[114] *Op. Joh. Damasc.*, I, 598–610.

[115] *Enthusiasmus*, I ff.

about the year 1000, in a monastery at Constantinople. In this letter the question is raised whether it is permissible for a monk, who is not a priest, to exercise the power of "binding" and "loosing." The answer is that originally this right belonged to the bishops and priests, but that they lost it by their immoral lives. The right then passed to the monks, who now have the Holy Spirit and are the real disciples of Jesus, as is proved by their manner of living and their miracles. About the year 1100, JOHN NESTEUTES writes: "Bishops and priests are there to instruct us; but to preach penance and to hear confessions belongs to the monks." Shortly after the year 1200, Baldwin, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, addressed a letter to Pope Innocent III., in which he complained of the fact that, in the Greek Church, the priests were disregarded and the monks were in full possession of the power of binding and loosing.[116] *About the same time, this custom began to be combated,* and it was gradually wiped out after the year 1250. HOLL is of the opinion that this was mainly due to the fact that the Greeks at the *Council of Lyons* (A. D. 1274) accepted the Latin doctrine of seven sacraments and that this doctrine was subsequently received by the people at large. This may be admitted. Formerly the consecration of monks was considered a sacrament, but now it was excluded from the list.

11. The *seal of confession* was unknown in Christian antiquity. SOZOMENUS[117] explicitly states that discretion is one of the qualifications that a penitentiary priest must possess. But as long as the practice existed of confessing and doing penance publicly, *the seal of confession could not naturally be as strictly enforced as it was later.* PAULINUS relates[118] that ST.

[116] See *P.L.*, CCXV, 452c.
[117] *H.E.*, VII, 16.
[118] *Vita Ambr.*, c. 39.

Ambrose spoke to God alone concerning the sins confessed to him,— whence it may be inferred that others were not so careful in this respect. The rule of Chrodegang, which commanded that all canons regular must confess to the bishop twice a year, ordained (c. 14) certain penalties for those who concealed their sins for fear the bishop might depose them, and then confessed these sins to another priest.[119] The strict prohibition against revealing anything told in confession first appeared in the Western Church when the *Fourth Lateran Council* treated it in connection with the command of annual confession. In the Eastern Church, as early as 527, the synod of Dovin, in Armenia, had pronounced anathema against a priest who had violated the seal of confession.[120]

§ 12. Retrospect

Whoever glances over what has been said in the foregoing pages must admit that, no matter how the present-day discipline may differ in appearance from that of the early days, *there can be no question of any substantial modification or innovation on the part of the Church in the administration of the sacrament of penance.* As in regard to the sacrament of matrimony, so in regard to penance, the Church has the right to determine the conditions for a valid and licit reception, and these conditions may change in the lapse of ages and according to circumstances. The Church has always claimed the power to forgive sins, or, as it is sometimes called, the power of the keys. Furthermore, she has always taught that "mortal sins" must be submitted to this power; and, finally, she has always demanded confession as a requisite for the forgiveness

[119] Hefele, *Konz.*, IV, 21.

[120] *Ib.*, II, 718. [On the whole subject cfr. B. Kurtscheid, O. F. M., *Das Beichtsiegel in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Freiburg, 1912. —Tr. N.]

of mortal sins. *There was no agreement as to what sins were to be considered mortal* among the ecclesiastical authors for centuries. Some narrowed the concept, others widened it. BATIFFOL is right when he says [1] that what we call venial sins are by no means identical with the "*peccata levia*" mentioned by ST. AUGUSTINE,[2] and still less with the "*peccata leviora*" of which TERTULLIAN speaks.[3] Many sins are now called mortal which in the eyes of the ancients were reckoned as "daily" or "light" sins. As late as the seventh century, ST. ISIDORE wrote: "If the sins are not so great as to entail excommunication, the culprit should not abstain from the remedy of the body of the Lord." [4]

In the first four centuries, public confession for all mortal sins committed openly was the rule throughout the whole Church. But even this public confession presupposed a previous confession made privately, since it could only take place after the Church authorities had given their consent. During the fourth century we find that in many parts of the Church private penance and private confession, followed by private absolution, replaced public penance. Hence the inference may be justly drawn that this practice existed even at an earlier date, at least for mortal sins committed in private. This inference becomes almost a certainty in the light of what ORIGEN and CYPRIAN say in regard to the confession of sins of thought. After 400, the practice of public penance, and especially public confession, became more and more restricted; in the Oriental Church it seems to have entirely disappeared.

[1] *Études d'Hist.*, I, 3rd ed., 198.
[2] *De Symb.*, 7, 15.
[3] *De Pud.*, c. 18, fin.
[4] *De Offic. Eccl.*, I, 18, 7–8: "*Ceterum si talia peccata, quae quasi mortuum ab altari removeant, prius agenda paenitentia est ac si deinde hoc salutiferum medicamentum tunc suscipiendum. . . . Si non sunt tanta peccata, ut excommunicandus quisque iudicetur, non debet a medicina dominici corporis separari.*"

Absolution, which, as a rule, in olden times was given after the fulfilment of the penance imposed, gradually came to precede it, and the penance became lighter and lighter.

The obligation to confess one's sins at certain stated periods, as imposed on all Christians by the Fourth Lateran Council, was, so far as the laity is concerned, entirely unknown in the early ages. But in the monasteries, from the fourth century on, frequent and regular confession, even of sins of less importance, was customary. This custom spread among the laity in Ireland and England and, at the dawn of the Middle Ages, was brought over to the continent by Irish and English missionaries. Its diffusion was aided by the disappearance of the system of public penance, by the increase of piety in the Middle Ages, and as a consequence of theological study, which gradually determined the notion and extent of mortal sin. *But all this involved no doctrinal revolution, and* HARNACK *is entirely wrong when he writes:* "The Church possessed a formal sacrament of penance, with all its subtleties, for many centuries, while dogmatic theology knew of no such thing, but spun a finer thread." [5] There have been many modifications in practice, but the doctrine always remained the same.

[5] *History of Dogma,* V, 327.

INDEX

A

Abélard, 246.
Absolution, 249 sq., 252.
Adam, Karl, 1, 13, 20, 24, 33, 34, 43.
Alcuin, 194, 241, 244.
Ambrose, On transubstantiation 38 sq., 42 sq.; On the epiclesis, 132; On the daily celebration of the Eucharist, 138, 187, 195, 214, 249.
Anastasius Sinaita, 190.
Andersen, 4, 44, 50 sqq., 62.
Anselm of Canterbury, 246.
Antioch, Council of, 141.
Ἀντίτυπα, 18.
Aphraates, 188, 198.
Apostolic Constitutions, 100, 116, 139, 146, 212.
Appolonius, 206.
Aristides, 88.
Athanasius, 18, 99, 131, 187.
Athenagoras, 88.
Augustine, On the real presence, 19 sqq. 43; On the sacrifice of the Mass, 128 sq.; On the epiclesis, 133; On the frequency of the Eucharistic celebration, 137; On Communion given to infants, 146, 148; On the disposition required for Communion, 148 sq.; On confession, 186 sq., 189 sq., 192 sq., 198, 207, 212, 222 sq., 228 sq., 231, 241, 247.
Auricular Confession, 213 sqq.

B

Basil, 18, 131, 139, 187 sq., 192, 198, 201, 215, 223, 238, 241.
Bastien, 134.
Batiffol, On the Eucharist 1, 2, 26, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 60, 124, 154, 169, 186, 196, 204, 218, 226, 251.
Baumstark, 103, 111 sqq.
Baur, 31.
Bede, Venerable, 142.
Bellarmine, 28, 33, 36, 65, 121.
Benedict, Rule of St., 239.
Berengar of Tours, 27.
Bessarion, 118 sq.
Beyschlag, 44.
Bickell, 106 sq.
Blank, 1, 20.
Blötzer, 221, 224.
Bock, 100.
Boudinhon, 186, 217.
Buchwald, 117.

C

Cæsarius of Arles, 30, 134, 142, 236.
Callistus I., Edict of Pope, 152, sqq., 165, 174 sq., 204, 221, 243.
Canon of the Mass, The, 98 sqq.
Capital sins, 174 sqq., 193, sq.
Cassian, 138 sq., 142, 143, 193 sq., 229, 234, 239, 241.
Celerinus, 206.
Charlemagne, 236.
Chrodegang, Rule of, 239, 250.
Chrysostom, 18 sq., 35 sqq., 128, 131 sq., 139 sqq., 148, 150, 187 sq., 231 sqq.
Clementine Liturgy, 98 sq., 118.
Clement of Alexandria, 2, 7 sqq., 91, 127, 130, 136, 156, 183.
Clement of Rome, 86.
Climachus, John, 190.
Columba, 194, 240.

Communion, Frequent, 135 sqq.; Given to infants, 146 sq.; The necessary disposition for, 147 sqq.
Confession, Public, 184 sqq.; Auricular, 214 sqq.; Seal of, 250 sqq.; Obligation of, 252.
Confessor, 203.
Confessor, 246.
Consecration, 120 sqq.
Cornelius, Pope, 168 sq., 187.
Cyprian, On the real presence, 15 sqq., 24; On transubstantiation, 34 sq.; On the Sacrifice of the Mass., 69 sq., 93; On Communion, 136, 148; On penance, 166 sqq., 180, 185, 188, 191 sq., 197, 203 sq., 207, 221, 222, 224, 243.
Cyril of Alexandria, 39 sq., 139.
Cyril of Jerusalem, 18, 34 sq., 132.

D

D'Alès, 154, 180.
De Lugo, 66.
Denis of Corinth, 159 sq.
De Sacramentis (Pseudo-Ambrosian treatise), 128, 134 sq., 140, 146.
Didache, The, On the Eucharist, 2; On the Mass, 73, 86, 99 sqq., 109 sq., 124, 147, 219.
Didascalia, 93 sq., 183, 195.
Dionysius of Alexandria, 205.
Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, 212, 247, 248.
Docetae, 3.
Döllinger, 32.
Dorner, 19, 22, 24.
Dorsch, 75, 84, 90.
Drews, 103, 107, 110 sqq., 129.
Duns Scotus, 27.

E

Epiclesis, The, 116 sqq.
Ermoni, 217.
Esser, 154, 161 sqq., 174 sqq., 190, 221.
Eugene IV, 118, 120.
Eulogia, 145 sq.
Eusebius, 18, 74, 145, 159, 205.
Evagrius Ponticus, 193.
Exomologesis, 184 sqq.

F

Fabius of Antioch, 205.
Fasting, 130, 149 sq.
Feder, 161.
Firmilian, 69, 117, 126 sq., 130.
Florence, Council of, 118 sq., 121.
Frank, 216, 219 sqq., 223.
Franzelin, 36, 66.
Fulgentius of Ruspe, 133 sq.
Funk, On the Eucharist, 3, 74, 99, 111 sqq.; On penance, 153, 156, 157, 161, 165, 169, 174, 196, 202, 208, 210, 227.

G

Gartmeier, 218 sq.
Gelasius I, 29 sq., 111, 128, 134, 147.
Gihr, 67.
Gnostics, 4.
Goeken, 119.
Goetz, K. G., 15, 44, 46, 47 sq., 57 sqq., 83.
Golz, Von der, 107 sq.
Gratian, 246 sq.
Gregory of Nyssa, 35 sq., 41, 131, 227, 228.
Gregory of Tours, 142.
Gregory Thaumaturgus, 184.
Gregory the Great, 70 sq., 111, sq., 117, 146, 151, 193, 245.
Gutberlet, 122.

H

Harnack, Adolph, On the Eucharist, 1, 4, 6, 11 sq., 19, 24, 25, 32, 33, 35, 41, 73, 74, 153, 160, sq., 169, 237, 243, 252.
Hehn, 3.
Heresy, 190.
Hermas, 155 sqq., 173, 207, 221.
Heuser, 135.
Hildebert of Tours, 26.
Hippolytus, 174 sq., 179, 190.

Hoffmann, Joh., 5, 44, 53, 55, 60, 134.
Höfling, 73.
Hogl, 135.
Holl, 210, 212, 215, 217, 246, 248.
Höller, 118, 122.
Holtzmann, 44, 46, 56 sqq., 61.
Hoppe, 121.
Hugh of St. Victor, 216, 245.

I

Ignatius of Antioch, 3 sqq., 87, 136.
Innocent I, 111, 114, 147, 207, 227, 235.
Innocent III, 121.
Irenæus, On the real presence, 6 sq.; On transubstantiation, 32 sqq.; On the Sacrifice of the Mass, 67 sqq., 82, 92 sq., 117, 125; On the epiclesis, 130; On penance, 160, 173, 189, 219.
Isidore of Seville, 134, 149, 151, 251.

J

Jerome, 133, 138, 143, 144, 151, 191, 201.
John Damascene, 36, 40 sqq., 130, 134.
Julian the Apostate, 209.
Jülicher, 44, 45, 48 sq., 178.
Justin Martyr, On the real presence, 5, 30 sqq.; On the Sacrifice of the Mass, 67 sqq., 77, 89 sqq., 101 sq., 124 sq., 136; On the epiclesis, 130; On Preparation for Communion, 147; On penance, 159 sqq., 173.

K

Kahnis, 32.
Kirsch, P. A., 183 sq., 185, 217, 218.
Koch, Hugo, 160, 201.
Koinonie, 77 sq.

L

Laodicea, Council of, 140, 147.
Last Supper, The, 45 sqq., 54 sqq.
Lea, 216, 216 sq., 226.
Lebrun, 120.
Leimbach, 13.
Leo I, 189, 193, 208, 212, 220, 222, 226, 242, 244, 245.
Libellatici, 166 sqq.
Libelli pacis, 204 sqq.
Libri pœnitentiales, 214, 240.
Lingens, 122, 125, 130.
Loning, 216.
Loofs, 5, 6, 11, 15, 18, 19, 31, 35, 41, 42, 153, 163, 169, 211, 218, 242, 244, 245.
Love-feasts, 54 sqq., 77 sq.
Lucian (Martyr), 204, 207.

M

Marcion, 13, 190.
Markos Eugenikos, 19.
Mark, the Gnostic, 33, 126, 131.
Maronites, 130.
Martyr, 203.
Mass, True nature of the sacrifice of the, 62 sqq.
Melchisedek, 72 sq.
Mirbt, 29.
Morin, 114, 153, 186, 217, 221.
Müller, Karl, 207, 216, 243, 244.

N

Naegle, 1, 36.
Nectarius, 190, 196, 211, 212, 234.
Nicene Council, 146, 210.
Nicephorus, 249.
Novatian, 165, 169, 180, 187.

O

"Old Catholics," 215 sq.
Optatus of Mileve, 128.
Orarium, 144.
Origen, On the real presence, 2, 7 sqq., 18, 42, 74, 93, 126 sq., 130 sq., 179 sqq., 188, 197 sq., 223, 230, 241, 247.
Oswald, 67.

P

Pacian, 190 sq., 199, 224, 227.
Palmieri, 219, 221.
Paschasius Radbertus, 27 sq., 44.
Pater noster, 117 sq.
Paulinus of Nola, 146, 249.
Peace-letters, 203 sqq.
Pell, 80.
Penance, 142 sqq.; Public, 194 sqq.
Penitential books, 213, 239.
Penitentiary, 195 sq., 225.
Penitents, Four groups of, 202 sqq.
Petavius, 152 sq., 186.
Peter Lombard, 194, 216, 246.
Petros Mogilas, 119.
Pliny, 135.
Pohle, 66, 84, 154, 155, 214, 219, 233.
Poschmann, 171.
Pseudo-Augustine, 209, 236, 243, 245.
Psychics, 176.
Public Penance, 194 sqq.

R

Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, 1 sqq.
Reconciliation of sinners, 208 sq.
Renaudot, 120.
Renz, 62 sqq., 124.
Richard of St. Victor, 246.
Rolffs, 153.
Rottmanner, 229.
Rückert, 35, 48.
Rupert of Deutz, 28.

S

Sacrificati, 166 sqq.
Schanz, 1, 20, 24, 25, 28, 43, 67, 208, 214, 234, 244.
Scharsch, 13 sq., 34.
Scheeben, 67.
Scheiwiler, 1, 31, 32.
Schell, 120.
Schermann, 99, 124.
Schism, 189.
Schmid, Aloys, 123.
Schmitz, 240.
Schultes, R. (O. P.), 23.
Schwane, 33, 37, 67, 233.
Schweitzer, A., 44, 46, 48, 49 sq., 62.
Seal of Confession, 249 sqq.
Seeberg, 15, 19, 32, 33, 154.
Semisch, 6, 31.
Serapion, 102 sqq., 116 sq., 145.
Simar, 66.
Sins, Mortal or venial, 234, 251.
Siricius, Pope, 200, 207, 208.
Socrates, 196, 211, 233.
Sozomenus, 142, 196, 202, 211, 225, 233, 249.
Spitta, 44, 46, 47, 48 sq., 60, 61.
Steitz, 1, 2, 7, 33, 35, 186, 191, 216, 217, 245.
Stentrup, 66.
Strauss, David F., 44.
Struckmann, 1, 3 sqq., 13, 14, 16, 32, 33.
Stufler, 154, 157, 161, 166 sqq., 175, 180 sq., 220.
Suarez, 65.
Symbol, 13 sqq.
Symeon, 248.

T

Talmud, 191.
Tertullian, On the real presence, 11 sqq., 15; on transubstantiation, 33 sqq.; On the Mass, 83, 92, 127, 136; On the epiclesis, 130; On Communion, 144; On penance, 152, 157, 161 sqq., 174 sqq., 185 sq., 189 sqq., 195, 200 sq., 203 sqq., 221, 227, 230 sq., 243, 247.
Thalhofer, 65 sqq., 123.
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 40.
Theodoret of Cyrus, 29, 211.
Theodosius I, 187, 201.
Theodosius II, 114.
Theophilus, 133.
Thomas Aquinas, 242.
Torquemada, 121.
Touttée, 120.
Θυσιαστήριον, 83 sqq., 87.
Transformatio, 43.
Transubstantiatio, 25 sqq., 42.

V

Vacandard, 227.
Valentinus, 189.
Viaticum, 145.
Vinniaus, 240.

W

Watterich, 120.
Weizsäcker, 44.
Westcott-Hort, 46.
Wieland, 74 sqq.
Wobbermin, 102 sq.

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